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This is the 51st Handbook published for
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and Discussion Groups.

Published by the

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Suggested Readings and suggested Hymns for each study in this book are printed, for those Schools which desire them, *at the back of the book*, on pages 236-238. The references to "Hymns" throughout the Handbook are to the FELLOWSHIP HYMN BOOK (revised edition). For particulars of prices, etc., see at back.

"Adult Schools are groups which seek on the basis of friendship to learn together and to enrich life through study, appreciation, social service and obedience to a religious ideal."

(Minute of Education Committee, 1948)

PEOPLE MATTER

Section I

Introductory Study

This book seeks to establish the worth of every human being, and his need to realize his significance—to himself, to his friends, to society, to the future, and to God. Such an awareness gives him dignity and status in the scheme of things. These in turn confer upon him responsibilities and duties.

To all Chairmen and Secretaries

At the first meeting of your School in 1961, get your School to discuss (and reach answers to) as many as possible of the following questions (the selecting of them is left to you):

1. Are you interested in other people? If so, is it an interest in them *for their own sake* or merely because they affect your own happiness or unhappiness in some way?

2. How much do other people's lives matter (so far as you can judge and put it into words) to:—

- (i) School-teachers
- (ii) Shop-keepers
- (iii) Politicians and statesmen
- (iv) Research-scientists
- (v) Doctors
- (vi) The B.B.C.
- (vii) Newspaper proprietors and editors
- (viii) Landscape painters
- (ix) Magistrates
- (x) Missionaries.

3. Here are two views of human life: "nasty, brutish and short" (Hobbes); "sons of God" (the New Testament). There is a good deal to be said for either of these views. To which does your School lean? Can you give any convincing evidence in support of that view?

Close your School discussion by having read aloud (in a clear and audible manner) the following paragraphs, which explain why what is in this Handbook has been put there.

(N.B. *At the end of the year it is suggested that your School should look once again at some of these questions in retrospect. With this in mind a "Free date" is suggested for December 31st.*)

In *Section II* of this book the sociologist and the note-writer help us to see the ordinary run of people as they reveal themselves in leisure-time pursuits. Pursuits which are common are indicated. The studies are primarily factual but the activities observed are those of persons whose worth we are concerned to affirm. Because of this, some evaluation is attempted.

Section III declares leisure to be a human right and deals historically with its importance as a factor in modern life. The "civilized" man must have it. Nevertheless ordinary people may be exploited by the means offered. How can they be protected and protect themselves? They are important.

Section IV looks at some newspapers from this angle, newspapers that may protect or manipulate unfairly or unworthily. There are, of course, degrees in this matter. A study of a newspaper "king" follows.

Section V looks at the ordinary man as he was revealed in the early novels of H. G. Wells and particularly in the lovable character of "Mr. Polly"—victim of poverty, ill-educated, tied by economic chains and bewildered by the rich, the clever and the unscrupulous exploiters. This section looks also at the background of "Mr. Polly", both in Wells' early life and in the contemporary historical scene.

Section VII deals with the progress which has been made towards greater equality in educational opportunity. Nevertheless social problems are involved in deciding educational systems. What kind of education can help towards resistance to the deteriorating effects of "mass culture"? There is the need to understand the difficulties involved in such resistance both for teacher and child. Possible unhappiness may come from a divorce between a child and his environment. From the point of view of the theme, how should the dilemma be resolved?

Section VIII deals with the "Problem of Suffering", a problem so bewildering and baffling to so many. Is there a way through it? What enlightenment is to be found in "The Book of Job", a book interesting also for its own sake?

Section IX has an obvious place in the book, dealing as it does with the provision made for Television—with all its possibilities for genuine enrichment and its dangers in manipulating unfairly the minds and feelings of inexperienced and immature folk. These folk matter.

Section X moves from the Television screen and the Cinema film to the actual encounter of mind with mind in the life of a good group. It should show how the experience of a good Adult School can confirm in its members a sense of personal worth.

The growing importance in world affairs of the New China is acknowledged in this book by the four studies which compose *Section XI*. Some leading questions are posed, including that of the admission of China to the United Nations.

What is happening to the landscape around us to-day is becoming a matter of increasing concern to those who love the countryside. Do present-day inventions and developments necessarily serve our best interests? *Section XII* examines some of these problems and suggests what needs to be done about them. Although there is no direct connection between this subject and that of *Section XIII*, there is a natural sequence between the two, and it is well for us to be reminded how vital are our water supplies and how precarious they might become.

Ibsen's play "An Enemy of the People", which is by mere coincidence concerned with a water supply, poses for us in *Section XIV* a situation in which the interests of the community are seen to conflict with the interests of a limited group. How should such conflicts be resolved?

The enduring worth of each individual life has been understood to meet a fundamental challenge in the teaching of Buddhism. Whether or not this is so should become apparent in *Section XVI*, which is devoted to that subject. These studies have been asked for on several occasions.

Sections XVII and XX, dealing with people who in different ways are in difficulty and distress, must claim attention in the book. The call of the mentally ill, and of the prisoner during and after sentence, must be heard. They have especial need to have their confidence restored, and to feel needed and of worth.

The life of Wilberforce was notable chiefly for his achievements on behalf of human beings who had for so long been exploited by others, and it appropriately receives attention in this book (*Section XVIII*).

The purpose of *Section XIX* is obvious and sets out in outline the teaching of some other religions about man's ultimate worth, but deals mainly with the Christian doctrine.

The work of the United Nations for under-privileged persons provides something of a climax to studies on the theme of this book. The Declaration of Human Rights and the U.N. Specialized Agencies represent human achievements in the service of others and we cannot know too much about them (*Section XXII*).

As always there are studies in the Arts—this time of the Norwich landscape painters (*Section XV*) and of Sir Jacob Epstein (*Section XVIII*); and the study of some Negro Spirituals (*Section VI*) is also likely to be welcomed.

Section II

People and Their Interests

NOTES BY DOUGLAS B. BALCHIN

The aim in this Section is to find out some facts about people's interests and spare-time activities. How do people spend their evenings? What does the housewife like to do with her spare time if she has any? Of course we can all give some sort of answer to these questions, but we may be surprised by factual information about the popularity of certain occupations, and by ways of living different from our own.

Note on Method:

The notes are suitable for reading aloud to the group. The subjects indicated "for discussion" can be omitted at a first reading, or at least the discussions can be deferred until after the notes have been read through once. The leader should be familiar in advance with the subjects of the later sections of the handbook, in order that he may suggest deferment of discussion of topics more appropriate to the later sections. A written summary of the conclusions reached in each discussion would be useful at later meetings.

Sources of information are indicated in brackets, e.g. (Ref. A), the references being to the books listed on page 18; these books are useful for background reading.

(a) YOU AND YOUR INTERESTS

You are a man of 50, somewhat discontented with your work and your wife? Or a girl of 20, who enjoys various experiences but is puzzled by some things? Or a happy and busy young wife, or a young man of quiet interests, or an angry young woman? Or perhaps you are an overworked mother, or a middle-aged spinster, active but afraid of loneliness? The list of "types" is almost endless.

Why are people so different? How can I find a more exciting and satisfying interest? These questions are the kind

we can discuss better if we know something about other people's lives. Some true life stories, therefore, are given below. They are taken from a book (Ref. A) which records accurately and objectively the case histories of a number of people.

For discussion:

1. When you are thinking about someone whose ways are vastly different from your own, how can you avoid incorrect and unfair judgements? (*Notes:* "Being objective" means being factual without influence from one's own feelings and opinions; to be "shocked" or envious or to defend one's own way of living too sharply might make objectivity difficult. An objective examination of the lives described below would find some happiness, some selfishness, some social co-operation, and so on, in each person, but it would *not* use words like "right" and "wrong".)

Here are the case histories:

Miss N. is a manicurist in a man's shop. Aged about 25-30, plump and quite attractive. Is expected to make herself pleasant to customers. The shop has an exclusive clientèle and Miss N. receives many strictly dishonourable proposals. She goes off occasionally for a week-end or a night with one of the younger or more important customers. She thinks nothing of it; it is a normal part of making herself pleasant and she enjoys it.

Miss N. lives with an elderly mother and is her main support. She hopes to marry but would only marry a man who would let her mother live with them. "The poor old thing hasn't got many years. I'm not going to shorten them by leaving her."

Miss N. is intelligent and amusing. Quite well read. Gambles on horses "for fun". Is fond of old people and has a regular visiting list to each of whom she devotes an evening every five or six weeks.

Keen on cinema and theatre, not on dancing; drinks a good deal and smokes in moderation; not interested in religion.

Mr. K. is an unskilled worker in a factory. He is married with two children. For Mr. K. the chapel is the twin centre of his life with his home. He is one of the most intensely religious men the investigator has ever met. He does a good deal of voluntary work for his chapel and occasionally goes to other chapels to preach. He is an uneducated and extremely simple man but the example he sets is always good. Naturally he does not gamble or drink. He is not promiscuous, and he smokes only in strict moderation. He visits the sick and old, and to the best of his power helps everyone in need. He is the sort of man who would undoubtedly help to raise the tone

of a factory. Is devoted to his family, and is striving to ensure a good education for them.

Mr. F. is a bus driver, aged about 35-40, married, with one child to whom he is greatly attached. Is not promiscuous sexually as he says he has a nice home and all the money he has he likes to spend on it. Does not bet on horses but does a football pool coupon regularly which he says is not gambling. He gets a bit of fun and excitement out of it, and if he wins a bit, as he says he has done a few times, the money goes straight into his child's savings account. Would like to win a big prize for the child's sake, but as for himself he is absolutely happy. Drinks occasionally and smokes in moderation. Makes his own cigarettes. Never goes to church. When asked why not, first said "not interested", then added, "And blimey, just look at the ——— parsons".

Mrs. Y., aged 45-50, is the wife of a fairly successful professional man. They live on the South Coast and are childless. Mrs. Y.'s interests are entirely social and sporting. On a fine morning she plays a round of golf, or meets her friends for coffee. She lunches out, plays bridge or golf most afternoons, and is always dressed for dinner by the time her husband returns from the city, ready to give him a cocktail before he dresses. They often dine out or have friends to dinner. . . . Mrs. Y. reads all the fashionable novels, the society papers and the *News of the World*. Apart from bridge, she does not gamble. Smokes and drinks very heavily . . . Mr. Y. is a fourth husband, and was his wife's lover before he married her after a double divorce. Mr. and Mrs. Y. are fairly frequent attenders at church, but appear to have no dynamic beliefs, thinking rather that going to church is the right example to set the working class. Mrs. Y. is superstitious to a quite unusual degree.

Mrs. Z. is a married woman of about 37-40, working in a large charitable organization in a fairly important secretarial post. She is efficient, interested and anxious to further the work of the charity. Her husband is a doctor, and between them they are quite well off. Mrs. Z. is not a churchwoman as she believes the Christian dogma cannot be sustained in the light of modern thought. She is, however, keenly anxious to spread the Christian ethic, which she regards, on the whole, as the highest point of human vision. Mrs. Z. says that she believes that within limits of moderation there is some value in sexual promiscuity before marriage as it develops personality and helps to ensure a wise marriage. She is, however, vehemently opposed to it after marriage. She is a keen theatre- and cinema-goer. Does not gamble (except office sweepstakes) but doubts whether there is as much harm in gambling as moralists

maintain. She thinks gambling is silly but not nearly so grave an evil as, say, selfishness or nagging.

Mr. N. is a doctor. He has a busy general practice and is most conscientious, although he is regarded by his patients—most of them working-class—as being rude and abrupt in his manner. He is married, with two children, and is devoted to his home. He was promiscuous before marriage, but not since. Too busy for gambling, or for any recreation except sitting and resting. Is even too busy to read as many medical publications as he should, and says, "God help any really sick man I or any other G.P. have to treat." Says he doesn't know whether he is an agnostic or an atheist. At any rate he knows that he doesn't believe Jesus was divine and doesn't believe the Bible is any more true than Old Moore's Almanack.

Mrs. R. is about 30, an attractive but rather hard-faced blonde. She is married to a man who is always about to make a lot of money but somehow never does, although he is in regular employment. In consequence of her husband's low earning power, Mrs. R. works full-time in a factory. She rises at 5 a.m. each day from Monday to Friday, does an hour's hurried housework, leaves home at 6.30 a.m., and gets back about 5.30 p.m. On Saturdays she does the family washing and on Sundays cleans the house. She grumbles a moderate amount, particularly about the early hour at which she has to get up, but quite enjoys factory work as it is companionable without responsibility. She has a daughter of 6 who is given breakfast and sent to school by her husband, and whom Mrs. R. hardly sees except at week-ends. Mrs. R. is bitter about her husband gambling on horses, and she says he sometimes loses her earnings as well as his own. She doesn't mind him doing a football coupon as it is harmless and she is very glad he is not attracted by greyhound racing. Mrs. R. and her child are neatly dressed. The investigator saw the child sitting on the pavement waiting for her parents outside a public house where Mr. and Mrs. R. have a few drinks together every Saturday evening. Despite the worries about money and gambling, Mrs. R. is devoted to her husband and they seem an affectionate couple. Mrs. R. has absolutely no religious beliefs. She looks forward to her annual holiday as the greatest treat of the year, but even then is unable to rest or go away as she has the house to look after. Nevertheless always manages two or three day-trips by coach to the seaside.

For discussion:

2. Do you think that similar case histories could be obtained in your part of the country?

Matters of fact

In order to find out whether the interests of the people described above are rare or common, we can turn to other types of survey. (See page 45 of the 1960 Study Handbook for some information on the design of surveys of this kind). The results quoted here are believed to be representative of the people of this country as a whole:

During the week previous to one inquiry (Ref. E), one adult in every three had been to a pub; one in three had been to a cinema; one in three had been for a car ride; one in five had borrowed a book from a library; one in five had played a gramophone record; one in ten had been to a dance.

In the same inquiry, about one in seven went to church regularly, about one in four took part in a sport, and about one in three watched a sport.

The most popular hobbies, in order of popularity, were: knitting, needlework, reading, handicrafts, clubs or other communal activity, music, car or motor-cycle, dancing.

Two out of every three said they were never at a loss what to do in their spare time; half the people said that they had enough spare time; half the people wanted to "take it easy" rather than "do anything else" in their spare time; the "perfect day off" was considered by most to be outside the home, and the most popular idea of the perfect holiday was a holiday abroad.

In answer to the question "In general, how happy would you say you are—fairly happy, very happy, or not very happy?", four out of ten said "fairly happy", five out of ten said "very happy", and only one in twenty said "not very happy" (Ref. E).

In another inquiry (Ref. B), nearly half the adults had had a love affair outside marriage, and about half said they were against sexual experience before marriage.

For discussion:

3. Do *you* think people seem fairly happy in their different ways of living?

4. An unhurried discussion on a fairly general topic, such as the restrictions imposed by our society on individual happiness, might well form a good basis for the following studies. (*Notes:* Society might restrict individual happiness through inadequate money, too much or too hard work, not enough friends, not enough variety, unfamiliar surroundings, etc.)

5. One subject not considered in detail in these notes is sex, yet we see that this plays quite a large part in some people's lives. Time might be found to discuss sex in relation to other interests: sex can be an interest in itself, or a diversion from

monotony or anxiety, or an enrichment of a developing friendship. (Refs. A and B contain factual information on attitudes to sex; promiscuity is quite common; many sexual relationships before marriage are between people who later marry; about half the married people in England have had no sexual relationship with anyone except their wife or husband.)

(b) WHAT DO YOU DO AT HOME?

The ever-present family

Home is the ideal place for doing nothing in particular, or for a hobby, or for reading—but some may not agree with this statement. Does the following description (from Ref. D) of a working-class home seem true to life?

Much of the free time of a man and his wife will usually be passed in the living room; "just staying in" is still one of the most common leisure-time occupations. It is a cluttered and congested setting; to be alone, to think alone, to read quietly, is difficult. There is wireless or television, things being done in odd bouts, or intermittent snatches of talk (but rarely a sustained conversation); the iron thumps on the table, the dog scratches and yawns or the cat miaows to be let out; the son, drying himself on the family towel near the fire, whistles or rustles the communal letter from his brother in the army; the little girl bursts into a whine because she is too tired to be up at all.

For discussion:

1. What kind of home gives opportunities for individual interests as well as for communal family life?
2. In a home where diverse interests are possible, is it likely that something of the "good and comely life, founded on care and affection" (Ref. D) has been lost?

Housewives and others

The Gallup Poll Leisure Survey (Ref. E) in 1957 found that one-third of all housewives had no break at all from housework in twelve months, and that (according to the housewives themselves), the average number of hours per week spent on housework was between 70 and 100.

However, the trends of domestic purchasing, amongst other indications, would seem to suggest that the housewife's

lot is improving. During the ten years 1950 to 1960, expenditure by working-class and middle-class people on food, housing and household goods has risen considerably, even allowing for the general rise in prices. Two-thirds of households own vacuum-cleaners, one-third own washing-machines, and one-seventh own refrigerators.

"At least for the next few years, the average British consumer is likely to spend most of his increasing affluence on making his home cleaner, brighter, warmer, and better equipped, so that, apart from his weekly drive to the seaside or country, he can spend even more of his time in a comfortable home withdrawn from contact with the outside world" (Ref. H).

Gardening and "do-it-yourself" are amongst the most popular home occupations. While often the jobs are started for reasons of economy or duty, there is satisfaction in the doing of them and in the results—a garden or a house or some useful articles which remain to give pleasure for some time.

Teenagers' home interests are often somewhat different from those of older people. Young men and women often have a fair amount of money to spend, up to the time they start saving up for marriage, and a considerable advertising effort is directed towards this market. Amongst the things teenagers spend a lot of money on are clothes, cigarettes, alcoholic and soft drinks, gramophone records, and books and magazines of various kinds.

For discussion:

3. Despite all this talk about people being better off, are there still many households where there is not enough money, even with hire purchase, to provide the things which make possible a good choice of leisure occupation?

4. Are knitting and sewing real interests of housewives? Is it fair to regard new kitchen utensils as suitable birthday presents for mother? Are housewives' leisure interests better found outside the home?

People living alone

People who live on their own are sometimes just as happy and as active as those living in families; indeed, they probably have more opportunities for choosing their own leisure interests both at home and outside. This may often compensate, or more than compensate, for the absence of any family life. On the one hand there is more

freedom to do things; on the other hand there may not be people very near who can share interests, troubles, and domestic tasks. People living in families as well as people living alone may find it difficult to meet others with similar interests, but loneliness may be more noticeable when one is living alone. In the opinion of the notewriter, there would be advantages for all if people from different types of home would get together more in small groups, not for any one particular interest but to talk about a variety of things.

For discussion:

5. Some live alone and some live in a congested family setting, and all have experience which is of interest to others. Should we be more sociable with people in our neighbourhood?

Reading

Reading is something which most people can do, but not everyone likes to do very much. The 1957 Gallup Poll Leisure Survey (Ref. E) found that about half the adult population was reading a magazine, about a quarter reading a book, and a quarter reading a novel, during the week of the inquiry. Some people, of course, would be reading all three. One-third of the population was not reading any magazine, book, or novel. The "books" were on topics like travel, biographies, technical subjects, and sociology. Similar information appears in the results of other surveys, such as that of Cauter and Downham in Derby, in which it was also found that reading appears to be more popular with men than with women; with the middle class than with the working class; and with people of secondary or further education than with people of elementary education. The effect of education is particularly noticeable: the percentages of people reading a book more frequently than once a month were 61 per cent. for those with further education, 54 per cent. for those with secondary education, and 31 per cent. for those with elementary education (Ref. C).

Reading can be both absorbing and creative; one can be transported into new worlds, and one can build on what is read to create new experiences for oneself. It can be done at one's own rate, pausing to dwell on things of special interest—an advantage which is not shared by the student in a class or the TV viewer. Books are a storehouse, and the expert is he who knows where to find the written knowledge of his

subject. A reader is not necessarily highbrow: many books of non-fiction and of fiction are very "readable". It is desirable to read many books by different authors and of different kinds; otherwise one may obtain an unrepresentative view of life, or of the field of knowledge supposed to be covered by a book.

For discussion:

6. Do you think that cheap, paper-back novels about crude sex and violence are bad, and if so, why? (*Notes:* Ref. D considers this question in detail. Crude sex and violence may occur in "odd corners" of life, but does not every class and age-group have other qualities and "values"?)

7. "The bookworm is an escapist, or an idealist out of touch with the realities of life." Do you agree?

The pools

Filling in the pools coupon provides a chance, however small, of winning a sum which would solve once and for all the problem of making ends meet, of paying for the house and furniture, and perhaps a chance of realizing the wishes of a lifetime. More than half the population fill in coupons, or help to fill them in. The amount spent per person is not very great: usually a few shillings, very rarely enough to deprive a family of anything essential. Most people realize that the odds are very much against a big win—often millions to one. Pool winners do not necessarily spend their winnings unwisely. Pools, therefore, do not seem to do much harm. They do, however, encourage an attitude of depending on a "lucky break"; the satisfaction which others obtain from giving a few shillings a week for alleviating distress, e.g. among refugees, is probably greater.

Gambling on horse-racing and greyhound-racing is a home activity in so far as it involves a study of form. It accounts for a much greater expenditure of money each year than do the pools. The losses incurred by people with low or medium wages often cause real hardship which may fall on a wife and family rather than on the gambler himself. (See the story of Mrs. R. in the previous study). Yet people sometimes win, and the desperate hope is that luck will come. A good discussion on gambling is given in Ref. A; after giving facts and figures, it is concluded that people gamble mainly because they have not been introduced to any more satisfactory ways of spending time and money.

For discussion:

8. Do you think there is any harm in the pools?

9. Invite members of the group to mention their home leisure occupations. Make a list, and give each occupation "marks" according to the number of mentions. Discuss any hindrances or difficulties in following various hobbies, such as shortage of the "tools for the job" (materials, books of information, etc.) or lack of a suitable room at home.

(c) AN EVENING OUT

Where shall we go?

Shall we go to the pub or to the pictures? Where could we go to-night, to make a change from the usual things, to have a good time?

The public house

A pub of the traditional kind is warm, friendly and uncritical. The "regular", or the visitor, knows that he will feel "accepted" there; he can talk, or he can sit and reflect. He will make a pint or two of beer last a long time, and it will make him feel warm, relaxed, and unworried, forgetting the monotony or the tiredness or the arguments in other parts of his life. The couple interested only in themselves can sit at the side and be ignored by all. People can play darts or dominoes and sometimes there is music.

Pubs usually have an appearance and an atmosphere in keeping with the locality; the word "local" has special significance. The working-class pub is often less elaborate, and with a warmer and more "cosy" atmosphere than its counterpart in a middle-class suburb where people keep more in their own groups or parties. In pubs at city centres and at stations there may not be many "regulars"; most of the visitors talk business or private affairs or are in a hurry. Then there is the kind of bar associated with a hotel or restaurant; here people come for one or two short drinks before going in to have a meal, or whilst awaiting friends. About half the adult population visits public houses at least occasionally, and manual workers are among the frequent visitors. The great majority of public-house visitors are men. The choice of pub is made more for the atmosphere and the company than for the drink (Refs. A, B, and C).

A moderate amount of alcohol produces a sense of well-being and friendliness in most people. This is because it relaxes the controls and inhibitions which the mind normally imposes on the feelings. Most people who drink do so moderately, and many social occasions are made happier by the letting down of barriers of reserve and shyness. Advertisements to the effect that beer is a stimulant and gives great strength are, however, incomplete in the picture they convey; alcohol dulls rather than stimulates, and a pint of beer gives no more strength than a few slices of bread or the sugar in a pudding. Now, as much as in past generations, excessive drinking causes much unhappiness; wives and children are deprived, people are treated harshly, and road accidents are caused.

For discussion:

1. Do you agree that moderate drinking of alcoholic drinks produces a good social atmosphere and need not be condemned?
2. What changes could be made in (a) the public-house system, and (b) our customs and opinions, in order to reduce excessive drinking of alcohol and to make it easier to be sociable without excessive drinking? (*Possibilities:* Reduce licensing hours, remove all restrictions, control vested interests.)

Juke-boxes, caf  s and restaurants

People sometimes go abroad to get "atmosphere", yet there is an extraordinary variety of caf  s and restaurants in our own country. Some are frequented by solemn-faced teenagers listening intently to music from a juke-box—a shiny, elaborate record-player playing records of rhythm, unsentimental love, and toughness, often with hollow "echo-chamber" effect. The drinks are coffee, soft drinks and milk drinks. At others the drinks are the same but perhaps there is no juke-box; instead there may be a supposedly "Italian" or other "foreign" setting of greenery and alcoves. You might like to carry out a survey of the caf  s in your town, noting the arrangement and menu and price-range of each, and the age-groups, style of dress, topics of conversation, length of stay, and other features of the customers, which can be written down factually without opinions. If several people did such a survey, all using the same form of note-writing and extending it over some months, the result might be

interesting. If extended over a longer period, the effects of changing "fashions" of café-going might be seen.

Dancing is a serious interest for many, especially the young and unmarried. Most of the local dance-halls (the "palais") are well organized, and hooliganism and drunkenness are discouraged. Apart from the interest in dancing, there is also an interest in meeting people of the opposite sex, and the dance-halls provide a "respectable" way of doing this.

Churches and chapels

Out of every ten adults in the country as a whole, it seems that about two go to church or chapel fairly often, and about four hardly know what a church or chapel service is like, except perhaps for weddings and funerals (Ref. E, A, B, C). Those who attend church services often have a sense of "belonging" to something important outside themselves; they can find encouragement and sympathy and a sense of purpose, at least while they are at church. They are given some rules of conduct and belief, not necessarily the same for each sect but with much in common with the others. The church service, with its singing, its prayers and its sermons, brings a feeling of relief from the pressure of worldly things and of fervent hope and faith for the future. These feelings influence the everyday lives of the church-goers to varying extents; clearly for some the church helps towards the good life, while for others it appears to be a social convention rather than an instrument for good living.

Some churches have social, musical and sporting activities on weekdays. The spare time of a keen church member can be very fully occupied, and interest in the social life is often considerable. More women than men attend church services and activities. The information available on the age of church-goers seems rather conflicting; according to some reports there are few young people, according to others there are many. No doubt this depends on the particular appeal of each church. The proportion of people with larger incomes attending church is smaller than that of people with smaller incomes. Information on the relation between church-going and education would be interesting; in one inquiry about the interests of young people (Ref. F) it was found that, in the age-group 15 to 29, a greater proportion of university students had no religious affiliation than was found in the age-group as a whole.

For discussion:

3. Do facilities exist, independently of the churches, for a social life similar to that offered by many churches?

4. Do church-goers and non-church-goers have many interests in common?

Clubs, associations and classes

About one-third of the adult population belongs to one or more clubs or associations, but this does not necessarily mean that this number of people are active in their membership; they may just pay a subscription, e.g. to the Automobile Association. Amongst the wide variety of clubs and associations are social clubs barely distinguishable from pubs, sports clubs and specialist clubs such as those for photography, gardening, music, art, rabbit-keeping, and so on. Sports and car associations and cycling account for about half the membership. The proportion of men belonging to clubs is much greater than that of women. Social clubs attract people of different educational levels in the same proportion as they exist in our society as a whole, but sports and cultural clubs attract a greater proportion of those with secondary and higher education.

Townswomen's Guilds, Women's Institutes and Youth Clubs might be described as social clubs with cultural interests. Modern Adult Schools are similar, but the cultural interests are rather more substantial and cover a wider field. In this kind of group there is often also a considerable interest in social service. Evening classes are somewhat different in that they put the study of some particular subject first and foremost; the course in this one subject may last one, two or three years. In 1957 about one adult in every eight attended an evening class organized by a local education authority, a University, or the W.E.A. Half of these people went to a class in order to help them in their job, and half for their own interest. Amongst the most popular classes which people attend for their own interest are those on the social sciences, handicrafts, languages, history, books, and current affairs.

Town and countryside

Other important and enjoyable kinds of outing can only be mentioned briefly here. Cycling and walking can be sociable and may be associated with an interest in nature, geology,

archaeology, and the architecture of the cottage, farm and church. In towns there are the museums and art galleries, and surely going to the theatre or ballet is one of the most enjoyable experiences for many people.

For discussion:

4. What are the attractions of fishing? How does car-riding compare with walking and cycling?

5. What makes people interested in (a) museums, and (b) non-vocational classes? (*Notes:* Consider the background of money, class, home, education, work, etc., of people who are interested in these things, and look for conclusions.)

6. What interesting leisure occupations have not been mentioned in these notes?

Reference Books, for further reading:

- A. *English Life and Leisure*. B. S. Rowntree and G. R. Lavers. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1951). (From a library.)
- B. *Exploring English Character*. Geoffrey Gorer. (The Cresset Press. 1955. 30s.).
- C. *The Communication of Ideas*. T. Cauter and J. S. Downham. (Chatto and Windus. 1954.) (From a library.)
- D. *The Uses of Literacy*. Richard Hoggart. (Pelican A. 431. Penguin Books. 4s.)
- E. *The Gallup Poll Leisure Survey*. (British Institute of Public Opinion. 1957. 2s. 6d.)
- F. *The Gallup Poll 1959 Youth Survey*. (British Institute of Public Opinion. 1959. 2s. 6d.)
- G. *Adult Education and Mass Culture*. Asa Briggs. (The 1958 William Harvey Memorial Lecture. Fircroft College Publication.)
- H. *The Changing Pattern of Consumer Spending*. M. Abrams. (Research Services Ltd., 60, St. Martins Lane, London, W.C.2—a pamphlet.)

Section III

Leisure in a Mass Society

NOTES BY DOUGLAS B. BALCHIN

We have achieved a society with more leisure than ever before, but how shall we use this leisure? The problem (for such it seems to be) is to find interest and individual vitality, if not adventure, in a society which has a mass distribution of ideas and fashions of the moment, as well as of goods.

A four-day working week, giving three days and four evenings of leisure per week, is a possibility in some industries. In interviews on television in 1960 some workers seemed equally divided on the question as to whether they preferred slightly longer hours of work on four days or shorter hours on five days per week. Yet not many years ago 5½- or 6-day working weeks were usual. To accompany the greater leisure now available there is a greater measure of economic and social security. For the majority there is no real shortage of money for food and rent, and no need to worry about the doctor's bill or the cost of education. A large majority have television and a vacuum-cleaner, and many have a washing-machine, a refrigerator, and a car as well.

For discussion:

1. Refer back to your conclusions about the questions 3 and 4 on page 11 (about money and choice of leisure occupations, and about the housewife's leisure). Has the housewife's leisure increased? Or is leisure sacrificed to get more earnings?

2. If you are a worker, do you find that leisure is increasing, allowing that most activities out of working hours are leisure activities?

What is a mass culture?

There are a number of references in this Handbook to a "mass culture" and to "mass media". These terms require some explanation. A "mass culture" is a way of living, such as our own, in which everyone follows the same customs and

has the same ideas, the same ways of speaking and doing things, and so on. Food and drinks and dress and possessions, words and phrases and topics which are "fashionable", brands of cigarette and characters on TV—everything is the same for everyone. Of course there is a similarity of customs, interests and sayings in any culture, but in a modern, "advanced" country the sameness is greater and covers a wider area than in earlier societies; the sub-cultures formed by different classes and different geographical areas, each with its own local customs, are disappearing. Mass cultures are produced by the use of the "mass media"—newspapers, magazines, radio, television, cinemas, advertising, and so on. The full description should be "mass media for the communication of ideas and information and the portrayal of ways of life". The method is by printed and spoken words, and by pictures. The mass media have an enormous influence on customs and speech in everyday life.

Having a good time

"Having a good time" usually means doing something in the company of others: going to a party or a show, having food and drink and fun and merriment, perhaps going on holiday. The emphasis is on being light-hearted and being with people. This kind of enjoyment is necessary and good, and these notes on leisure would be incomplete without a reference to it. However, having a good time can cause trouble, for example by depriving others of money or attention which they need, or by "using" people for pleasure without heed to their happiness. Persons are not just individuals; they depend on, and should contribute, social co-operation with others. Irresponsible pleasure rarely, if ever, leaves others unharmed. But "having a good time" need not be irresponsible, and it need not be trivial, although it often is so as depicted by such mass media as TV, the cinema, and the popular magazines. In real life we can combine a good time with real interests and thought for others.

For discussion:

3. In conversation and behaviour there is often an urge to conform to what is thought to be the "done thing", and a reluctance to be different. Which are the most important influences and what kind of life do they portray?

New interests and new horizons

Some of the leisure occupations we have considered in previous studies can be grouped as follows:

- (a) doing nothing; pottering about.
- (b) passive and vicarious interests (e.g. television, reading for diversion, etc.)
- (c) purposive interests (e.g. making things, thoughtful reading, artistic pursuits, acts of personal service).

It is good for most people to do nothing sometimes. But it is a common experience that there is also satisfaction if some part, and preferably a large part, of life is occupied in purposive and creative interests. Such interests are available most readily to those whose eyes have been opened by a liberal education—an education begun at school and continued through life by reading and observing and experiencing. Knowledge is not the only aid in widening the scope of leisure activities; there is also the practice of being creative, of thinking for oneself and devising things to make and do. Social co-operation and concern for the well-being of society as a whole are also means towards the use of leisure, because almost all leisure activities concern other people and have repercussions on others. In an age when many of the services rendered, under the welfare state, are rather impersonal, it would be good if everyone could spend some part of each week in doing something personal for someone—some job of work or act of uncondescending friendship.

For discussion:

4. Here are six descriptions which might be applied to leisure activities: passive, diverting, informative, creative, social, serviceable. Make a list of *all* the leisure activities mentioned in the previous three studies, and discuss which of the six descriptions apply to each. (Several may apply to some, of course.) It would be well to prepare the list in advance, and to rule six columns in which ticks could be written indicating which of the descriptions apply.

Mass markets for goods and ideas

Prof. Asa Briggs writes:

“The makers of the mass markets of the twentieth century, markets not only for goods but for ideas, have realized that they can exploit mass markets more profitably than small

selective markets. The ordinary man has been their target. . . . The biggest danger of the mass media is that some of their controllers and some of the performers manipulate people, think of them only as a market in the same sense that some of the early manufacturers of the industrial revolution thought of their workers as hands, measure their reactions statistically, sometimes grossly under-estimate their mental age, exploit and debase genuine aspirations and interests, and manufacture one triviality after another. Should we blame the manipulators or should we blame the public?" (*Adult Education and Mass Culture*. 1958. Fircroft College Publication).

Aldous Huxley in *Brave New World* and George Orwell in 1984 have warned us against the kind of society which could result from the conditioning of everyone to a uniform way of thinking and living. To avoid this drabness, and to avoid the exploitation and undue conditioning of the masses by a minority who control the mass media, three things are necessary: (i) the possession by individuals of the qualities we have already discussed; (ii) ensuring that the mass media are controlled by unattached groups whose only purpose is to give enlightened and mature entertainment and information; (iii) the encouragement, in our social institutions, of mature, creative and purposive interests.

For discussion:

5. Is there a need for: Local clubs and cultural centres, free from vested interests, providing modern, comfortable rooms for cheap refreshments, for talking, for societies and clubs, for jazz sessions, classes, TV, games, and so on; adult school home groups for all who would be interested if they knew about them, probably one group for every neighbourhood of a few thousand inhabitants; still more and better libraries; the use of television to encourage the following up of programmes by reading or by doing things oneself.)

6. Do you look forward to a "brave new world" where your life is regulated and your happiness is that of a member of a herd, or do you want the opportunity to inquire and to discuss and to make your own life? How do you think your chosen kind of society can be achieved? (*Note:* When you are given a choice of two alternative kinds of society, you should consider carefully whether the choice offered is a fair one; perhaps there are other kinds of society, and perhaps the question has been framed in a misleading way. This may not be the intention, but you are warned!)

Section IV

Newspaper and Magazine

NOTES BY LEONARD A. SANDERS

"... In too many minds today ... there has come an attitude ... of suspicion, of jeering at standards and disregard for institutions, of respecting nothing and believing in nothing. ... There is a general feeling that someone is doing the ordinary man down, bilking him, misleading him, jeopardizing him ... One cannot help noticing that these are identical with the values and attitude of some of the popular press ..." (Sir William Haley, quoted by Francis Williams).

More people than ever turn to newspapers in their leisure time. How far do our newspapers recognize and encourage the worth of the individual, or do they, in fact, cater for the masses as a whole? Does the Press, through its editorial policy, its contributed articles or its advertisements, influence people's minds and behaviour to such an extent that they are in danger of being exploited economically and politically?

Method:

Groups might arrange for a number of their members to give consideration to this subject in advance and, where possible, to carry out some research locally. The following suggestions might provide starting points, or would provide material for a *free date*:

1. Record for, say, a week the newspapers read by passengers in the bus or train to and from work.

2. Find out which newspapers are most widely read in your library reading room.

3. Ask your newsagent which are the most popular national papers locally. Does his list correspond with the national order of popularity? How does the list of newspapers read by members of your own group vary from these lists?

4. Arrange for as many members as practicable to bring different newspapers and compare them regarding their contents and method of presentation. What news, feature or advertisement have they in common?

5. Compare several newspapers' presentation of one item of news, noting (a) the space devoted to it, (b) its importance

relative to other news, (c) its estimated accuracy, (d) the amount of comment included, (e) whether it is illustrated, and (f) whether personal interviews are included.

Have copies of the newspapers under discussion available during the school session.

In a series of this nature it is likely that there will have been developments between the time when the notes are compiled and the study being actually taken in the schools. Leaders are therefore encouraged to inquire for up-to-date facts and figures. In cases of genuine desire for particular information, write to the Editor of the newspaper concerned.

(a) THE DAILY NEWSPAPER

"Our daily bread"

Nearly everybody who can read sees a national daily newspaper and this has resulted in ever-increasing circulations of a few newspapers. The following is a list of the national morning papers with their 1959 circulation figures:

<i>Daily Mirror</i>	4,526,000
<i>Daily Express</i>	4,041,000
<i>Daily Mail</i>	2,106,000
<i>Daily Herald</i>	1,523,000
<i>News Chronicle</i>	1,267,000
<i>Daily Sketch</i>	1,224,000
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	1,134,000
<i>The Times</i>	248,000
<i>The Guardian</i>	190,000
<i>Daily Worker</i>	56,000

The last named is the only new morning paper to survive during the last forty years. During the same period the *Morning Post*, the *Daily Chronicle*, the *Westminster Gazette* and the *Daily Dispatch* have had to cease independent publication. It will be interesting to follow the fortunes of *The Guardian*, formerly the "Manchester Guardian", as a national daily.

Food for thought

Most papers are shared by more than one reader, and in 1954 it was estimated* that over 29 million people read a morning paper out of a total adult population (over 16 years) of some 36½ million. Those who do not read a paper are mostly

* Hulton Readership Survey for 1954.

illiterate, or working-class folk who are just not interested. Well over half of the readers only saw one newspaper; about one in every six saw two; and one in every 33 saw three different papers daily.

Not all these readers study their newspaper carefully. In public reading rooms it has been observed* that the time spent in looking at one morning paper varies from about $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 minutes; in the train it provides an average of 6 minutes' reading, but no doubt considerably longer is spent at home. Most people give a glance at the news headlines and then turn to their favourite items.

Questions for discussion:

1. How many morning newspapers do your members see each day? How long do you devote to reading them? What items do you look at first?

2. Do you read your paper for information or for entertainment?

The Daily Mirror

The *Daily Mirror* (established in 1903) is an independent newspaper,† price $2\frac{1}{2}$ d. Its proprietors are the Daily Mirror Newspapers Ltd. and its head offices are at Geraldine House (named after Lord Rothermere's mother) in Fetter Lane, London. Until recently it had the largest daily circulation in the world but the Russian "Pravda" now claims this record. The Chairman and Managing Director is Cecil Harmsworth King, nephew of the founder, Lord Northcliffe. The Editor is Jack Nener. It would cost you some £25 for an advertising space one inch deep and one column wide ($1\frac{7}{8}$ by 1 inch).

The *Daily Mirror*, from its earliest days, aimed to provide the "first pictures, exclusive". The pictures and illustrations in both the news and the advertisements have generally a special appeal to the family readers. The paper was intended by Lord Harmsworth in 1903 for "gentlewomen", but after a disastrous start it was soon transformed into a modern "tabloid", appealing to the new public which had been created by the 1870 Education Act and which had previously turned to such publications as *Tit-Bits* (1881) and *Answers* (1888). Lord Salisbury is credited with remarking that Mr. Harmsworth had invented a paper for those who could see but could not read. (Quoted by T. S. Matthews, *The Sugar Pill*, p. 48).

* By Mass Observation.

† The Newspaper Press Directory, 1959.

For consideration:

As literacy spreads, standards in entertainment rise and standards in instruction fall (T. S. Matthews). Do you think this statement is true of newspapers? How far does it apply to the particular newspapers we are considering?

Popular features

The most popular features of the *Daily Mirror* are "Live Letters" conducted by the Old Codgers, the comic strips and cartoons, the pictures, and Cassandra's column. Only one in six of the *Daily Mirror's* readers regards the news as most important.* Fewer than one in 33 readers are interested in the editorials, and even less are interested in sport.

The paper analysed

On Thursday, June 23rd, 1960, this paper had 32 pages size 14½ by 12 inches and there were 7 columns per page. It was made up of :

	Columns	Percentage of space
Advertisements	86	38.4
News (Home 48, Foreign 3)	51	22.8
Feature Articles	30	13.4
Sport	27	12.1
Comic Strips and Cartoons	17	7.6
Correspondence	5	2.2
Parliamentary Report	3	1.3
Law Reports	3	1.3
Editorial	2	.9
(22 of these columns, i.e. 9.8% of the total space, were taken up by illustrations.)		

Readers' politics

More than half the *Daily Mirror* readers support the Labour party, one in seven are Conservative and a quarter are undecided or non-party. One-third of its readers do not know of the paper's political leanings.

The Times

The Times (established 1785) is an independent paper, price 4d. Its head office is at Printing House Square, London.

* The Press and its Readers.

The Editor is Sir William Haley and its manager is F. Mathew. The controlling interests in the company are in the hands of Lord Astor of Hever (90 per cent.) and Mr. John Walter (10 per cent.). The advertisement rate is £9 10s. for one column inch ($2\frac{3}{16}$ by 1 inch). Alone among newspapers, *The Times* has a greater number of men readers than women. Its greatest appeal is to readers over 45 years in the upper income groups. Nearly all its readers are interested in foreign affairs and politics and over half its readers enjoy the editorials. Although a letter in *The Times* carries considerable prestige, few *Times* readers say they are particularly interested in the letters. They like their reporting to be free from sensationalism and are not particularly interested in sport or pictures.

Although Lord Northcliffe tried to modernize *The Times* when he had financial control from 1908 to 1922, he had little success apart from the humorous fourth leader which still survives. The front page is still devoted to classified advertisements but even *The Times* now has a Women's section. Some of the articles in the paper are deliberately included for future historians to refer to rather than for the information of its present readers.

The paper analysed

On Thursday, June 23rd, 1960, there were 24 pages, size 18 by 24 inches, made up of 7 columns per page:

	Columns	Percentage of space
Advertisements	60	35.7
News (Home 19, Foreign 12)	31	18.5
Finance (and Company advertisements, 14)	31	18.5
Feature Articles	13	7.7
Sport	11	6.5
Correspondence	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1.5
Parliamentary Report	8	4.7
Law Reports	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1.5
Editorial	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1.5
University News	$2\frac{1}{2}$	1.5
Obituaries	2	1.2
Court News	2	1.2

($4\frac{1}{2}$ of these columns were taken up by illustrations, i.e. 2.7% of the total space.)

Readers' politics

Two-fifths of *The Times*' readers are Conservatives, one-quarter Labour, one in eight Liberal, whilst one-fifth are undecided or non-party.

Who reads these Newspapers?*

	<i>The Times</i>	<i>Daily Mirror</i>
Total Readers	440,000	10,550,000
Men Readers	240,000	4,850,000
Women Readers	200,000	5,700,000
Readers under 45 years	180,000	7,240,000
Readers over 45 years	260,000	3,310,000
Well-to-do and Upper Middle Class	340,000	340,000
Lower Middle Class, Workers, etc.	100,000	10,210,000

Question for discussion:

Do your personal observations confirm the findings of the National Readership Surveys? (Refer to "People as Guinea Pigs" in the 1960 Handbook for an explanation of how such a Poll is conducted.)

Advertisements

It will be seen above that both the newspapers under consideration devote over one-third of their space to advertisements. It has long been accepted that newspapers' financial success depends on their advertisements. National advertisements have to be approved by the Newspaper Proprietors' Association and in addition the papers themselves reserve the right to refuse publication. Readers' complaints about goods advertised in the *Daily Mirror* are followed up by a worker whose full-time job it is to do so.

Advertisers of goods like refrigerators, cars, and television sets now find it most profitable to display their wares in newspapers like the *Daily Mirror*, read as it is by the increasingly 'prosperous working-class. On the other hand, companies are taking more space in *The Times* for their announcements: Appointments and Situations Vacant adver-

* Based on Hulton Readership Survey 1954.

tisements are now displayed in large panels, not merely in the classified columns as previously.

Some people are concerned about the increasing influence of advertisers in our national life and upon the individual. A Royal Commission has been suggested to consider what safeguards are desirable.

Questions for discussion:

1. How far do you think newspaper advertisements affect the values and standards of their readers?
2. Do you think the magazine "*Which?*"* serves a useful purpose in encouraging manufacturers to raise the standard of their products and avoid making false claims for them?
3. In what ways might a news editor be influenced in his presentation of social problems, knowing that a lucrative advertiser had vested interests?

The impact of newspapers

Newspapers themselves claim that they are the custodians of public liberty. The Philip Wright reader service of the *Daily Mirror* handles some 40,000 problems a year, consisting mainly of readers' complaints against Government departments and other public bodies. The correspondence columns of *The Times* are internationally famed for the opportunity of airing grievances.

Even so, readers are limited by the small choice of papers now available, so that minority views have little chance of being heard. The "Mass Observation" report suggests, however, that there is little evidence that readers are influenced politically by the newspaper they read. What influence there is, it suggests, is subtle and is most likely to be seen in the long-term influence in foreign affairs, e.g. on the reader's attitude to the U.S.A. or Russia.

Probably the days of blatant propaganda in the press are over. Few newspaper-men to-day would echo Lord Beaverbrook's words to the Royal Commission: "I run the paper for the purpose of making propaganda, and with no other motive."

Hugh Cudlipp, the Editor of the *Daily Mirror*, says in his book "Publish and be Damned!" (p. 225): "A newspaper may successfully accelerate, but never reverse, the popular attitude which common-sense has commended to the public."

* Published by the Consumers' Association Ltd. (Annual Membership —£1.)

Questions for discussion:

1. How far do newspapers deserve Earl Attlee's criticism? "You are getting today papers that have no point of view and are only entertainment. The danger is that they prevent people from considering serious matters". (Quoted by T. S. Matthews.)

2. Do you agree that readers may be subtly influenced by their newspapers in foreign affairs, where they have no means of checking the information they are given?

3. How far do newspapers reflect our modern culture, as it really is? Will they therefore be a useful source for future historians?

4. What do you consider to be the possible economic and social effects of the opportunities for persistent propaganda in the advertisement and editorial columns of our newspapers?

Books recommended:

Dangerous Estate. Francis Williams. (Longmans, Green & Co. 1957; Pan Books 3s. 6d.; or from a library.)

The Press and its Readers. Mass Observation (Art and Technics Ltd. 1949). (From a library.)

Publish and be Damned! Hugh Cudlipp. (Andrew Dakers. 12s. 6d. 1953.) The story of the *Daily Mirror*. (From a library.)

History of The Times. (*The Times*.) (From a library.)

The Sugar Pill. T. S. Matthews. (Gollancz. 1957. 18s.) *The Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* examined.

For reference:

Newspaper Press Directory. (Published annually.)

Hulton Readership Surveys. (For reading statistics up to 1955.)

National Readership Surveys. (Institute of Practitioners in Advertising.) Not easily available.

(b) THE SUNDAY NEWSPAPER

As far back as the sixteenth century there were news-books published. These developed later into weekly and daily journals, and the two Sunday newspapers we are to consider share this ancient lineage. In the early years of the nineteenth century the people's interest in crime and scandal was being catered for; the last dying speech of William Corder, the murderer of Maria Marten in the Red Barn, sold over a million copies. Eighteen Sunday papers were being published in London. They were, of course, concerned with politics, but they were more renowned for their ribaldry and were extremely

frank in their reports of crime and scandal. *The Observer* specialized in wood-cuts of murderers. By the middle of the century the *News of the World* was selling well over 100,000 copies a week.

For consideration:

"The sabbath of the British newspaper reader has always been bloody and violent." (Francis Williams.) (See also Wilberforce's findings, on p. 211.)

The reader's choice

More than nine out of every ten adults read a Sunday paper. According to "Mass Observation", those who do not read the Sunday newspapers are mostly professional and business people who cannot find what they want in them.

The 1959 circulation figures of the National Sunday papers are as follows:

<i>News of the World</i>	6,767,000
<i>Sunday Pictorial</i>	5,378,000
<i>The People</i>	4,900,000
<i>Sunday Express</i>	3,398,000
<i>Empire News</i>	2,161,000
<i>Sunday Dispatch</i>	1,835,000
<i>Sunday Graphic</i>	953,000
<i>Sunday Times</i>	795,000
<i>The Observer</i>	638,000
<i>Reynolds News</i>	368,000

Over a third of Sunday paper readers see two papers and another quarter see three. Most Sunday newspaper readers say they see the news in the dailies, so at the week-ends they turn to the feature articles. After that they look at the news, the gossip, sport and pictures.

The Observer*

The Observer (established 1791) is an independent paper with a national circulation, and it devotes considerable attention to politics, foreign affairs and the arts. The Head Office of the proprietors, The Observer Ltd., is in London. The paper is managed by a non-profit-making trust. The general manager is Mr. Tristan Jones and the editor is the Hon. David Astor. Advertising in the newspaper costs £15 for a single-column inch ($1\frac{1}{8}$ by 1 inch).

* Newspaper Press Directory.

The Observer's readers

One adult in thirty-three reads *The Observer** and the majority of these are in the higher income groups. Over two-fifths of its readers support the Conservatives, one-fifth are Labour, one-sixth Liberal and about one-eighth undecided or support no party. They are nearly all interested in politics, foreign affairs and other serious news. Compared with other Sunday newspaper readers they are not much interested in sport. They are most attracted by the feature articles, especially reviews.

The paper analysed

On February 21st, 1960 (Price 5d.), the paper had 32 pages, size 18 by 24 inches. Each page, except the leader page, had 8 columns:

	Columns	Percentage of space
Advertisements	134	52.3
News (Home 12, Foreign 8)	20	7.8
Finance (and Company advertisements)	10	3.9
Feature Articles	68	26.6
Sport	14	5.5
Leader and Comment	7	2.7
Correspondence	3	1.2

(13 of these columns were devoted to illustrations.)

The Observer is careful with the advertisements it accepts and in its articles regularly offers advice to its readers: for example, in its own guide for shoppers, it reports some of the findings of *Which?* and occasional articles on the claims and performances of patent medicines.

The News of the World

The *News of the World* (established 1843) is a national newspaper with the largest Sunday circulation in the world. The proprietors are the News of the World Ltd. in London. The chairman of the company is Sir W. Emsley Carr. The editor is Mr. S. W. Somerfield, who succeeded Mr. R. Cudlipp, brother of the editor of the *Daily Mirror*. The advertising rate is £40 for a single column inch ($1\frac{1}{8}$ by 1 inch).

* The Press and its Readers.

The News of the World's readers

Half of the adults in Britain read the *News of the World*. It is most popular among the "unskilled working class". Nearly half the readers admit quite freely that they are most interested in gossip and scandal news. Sports enthusiasts choose it as their Sunday paper. Comparatively few readers are interested in the feature articles or serious news. Half of the paper's readers support the Labour party; one quarter are Conservatives and one-fifth are non-party or undecided. This is at first sight remarkable in view of the paper's Conservative sympathies, but only one in a hundred of the paper's readers say they like its editorials; it probably means that the readers are unaware of its politics.

The paper analysed

On February 21st, 1960, the paper had 20 pages, size 16 by 23½ inches. Each page had 8 columns, and was used as follows:

	Columns	Percentage of space
Advertisements	63	39.4
News (Home 25, Foreign 1)	26	16.2
Finance	1	0.6
Feature Articles	43	26.9
Sport	24	15.0
Leader and Comment	2	1.3
Cartoon	1	0.6

(15 of these columns were devoted to illustrations.)

*Statistics**

	<i>News of the World</i>	<i>The Observer</i>
Total Readers	17,520,000	1,570,000
Men	8,410,000	730,000
Women	9,110,000	840,000
Readers Under 45	9,900,000	900,000
Readers Over 45	7,620,000	670,000
Well-to-do and Upper Middle Class	700,000	840,000
Lower Middle Class and Workers	16,820,000	730,000

* Hulton Readership Survey.

The Press and public taste

One of the most common criticisms of the popular Sunday press is the way it presents scandal and sex. This is a matter on which The Press Council itself is very concerned and it occasionally issues statements regarding individual newspapers. In 1953 and 1960 it publicly expressed deep concern over the unwholesome exploitation of sex by certain newspapers. The general council of the Press was set up in June 1953 as a result of a recommendation of the 1949 Royal Commission on the Press. It considers that standards have improved since then, but some papers are "debased to a level which is a disgrace to British Journalism". The Council aims:

1. "to investigate and, if possible, redress personal grievances of public and private citizens;
 2. to curb practices that would bring the Press into disrepute;
 3. to defend the Press against assaults on its freedom."
- (Annual Reports of the Council are obtainable, price 2s. 4d. post free, from 1, Bell Yard, London, W.C.2.).

Questions for discussion:

1. Do you agree that the Press has cheapened values in recent years?
2. Do most newspaper editors under-estimate the mental age of their readers?
3. If our newspapers are not as we would like them, who is to blame—the proprietors or the purchasers?
4. Those who read a Sunday paper, but not a daily, are mostly in the working class; those who read a daily, but not a Sunday paper, are mostly professional folk. How do you account for this?
5. If you had £40 to spend on advertising the Adult School Movement in one of the four newspapers described in this and the previous study, which paper would you choose, and why?
6. Writers of gossip columns are often accused of unnecessary intrusion into private life and of disregarding personal grief. Is there any evidence to support this?

(c) A WOMAN'S MAGAZINE

A suggestion to school leaders:

If you know that some of your members read *Woman*, prepare in advance a series of, say, 20 questions which will indicate which stories, articles or features of the current magazine are most widely read and best remembered. What advertisements can the readers recall? How long do they give to reading the magazine? When do they read it—at one sitting, or at odd moments?

Women in general

Twelve million, that is six out of ten, of all women in Britain read a woman's weekly magazine. A third of these readers see two magazines and more than a sixth see three each week. Over ten million women's magazines are sold weekly. As there are no comparable magazines appealing solely to men, it is interesting to consider how this situation has arisen.

During this century women have shared in the generally greater economic prosperity, so they can afford to buy magazines. With the development of labour-saving devices in the home, housewives have time to read. Reading a magazine rather than a book is something that can be done while waiting for the joint to roast or the baby to go to sleep. The single woman, too, is no longer expected to work from dawn to dark in domestic service; after her day in the factory or office she has considerable time left for reading if she chooses.

Women, like men, have their specialized interests and hobbies and so read magazines which cater for their activities—including gardening, music, motoring, crafts, literature, etc. But women, as women, have far more interests *in common* than men have. It is therefore possible to sell a general purpose magazine to them.

Questions for discussion:

What magazines do your school members buy? How far are these intended to be read by women? What magazines do you read (a) in the doctor's or dentist's waiting room? (b) under the hair-drier?

"Woman" and its readers

The magazine *Woman* was first published in 1937 by Odhams Press. It now costs 6d. The editor for the past twenty

years has been Miss Mary Grieve. Its circulation is approaching three and a half million. A feature of the magazine is the colourgravure in which a third of the pages are printed. If you would like one of the pages for an advertisement, it would cost you £2,650.

According to the 1954 Hulton Readership Survey, the magazine was read by nearly six million women. Of these, 4 million were working class; $1\frac{1}{2}$ million were lower middle class, and over $\frac{1}{2}$ million were upper middle class and well-to-do. Again, $4\frac{1}{4}$ million were housewives and $1\frac{1}{4}$ million were unmarried, under 35 years. Readers' ages are grouped as follows: Under 24, $1\frac{1}{4}$ million; 25-44 years, $2\frac{3}{4}$ million; 45-65 years, over $1\frac{1}{4}$ million; over 65 years, under $\frac{1}{2}$ million. Since 1954 the total readership figures has reached 7 million (not counting the 2 million or so men who occasionally read it!)

One in three readers of *Woman* also reads the *Daily Mail*; nearly half read *The News of the World* and less than one in thirty reads *The Observer*.

The Magazine's contents

The issue for March 12th, 1960 had 76 pages, size approximately $13\frac{1}{2}$ by 10 inches. Advertisements took up 37 pages, including 16 of the coloured pages, but many of them help to give a cheery and attractive look.

Fiction takes up some 11 pages, three of them illustrated in colour. The stories are laid out so that they take you through the magazine to the obvious advantage of the Advertiser! The serial, for instance, consisting of some four pages of print, starts on page 19 and finishes on page 66, after turning on ten times.

Features take 28 pages. These are made up as follows: Beauty hints, $4\frac{1}{2}$ pages; Knitting, Sewing, etc., 4 pages; Fashion and Cookery, 3 pages each; Household, Gossip, Correspondence, and Social Problems have 2 pages each; $1\frac{1}{2}$ pages are devoted to Etiquette; there is a page of reviews; and there are single articles on Health, the "Stars", and Gardening.

The appeal

Not all the magazine is intended to be read by any one purchaser. The editor has in mind as the "average" reader a woman of 26. (At this age, she says, all women are prepared

to pretend to be ten years younger or older as the occasion suits!). Obviously the beauty articles and the cookery hints are intended to appeal to different groups. It has been found out through market research organizations that the correspondence pages are most appreciated by working-class women, whereas the stories appeal most to young office workers.

Editorial policy

Woman claims to deal realistically with problems that are of real importance to its readers. The letters to which Evelyn Home replies are only a few of the thousand or so that are received every day. Some of our Adult School members will recall how at Swanwick they were at last convinced that these letters are genuine. Other articles in the magazine are directed to avoiding or overcoming similar problems which might arise among readers.

The magazine makes no attempt to tell its readers how they must behave, or dress, or furnish their home. It indicates the possibilities open to them. Nearly all its readers want to be regarded as "middle-class", and the magazine reflects this attitude. Those interested in cooking, for instance, are encouraged to belong to the Wooden Spoon Club, sending in their own recipes on occasions; and those who are beauty-conscious to belong to Beauty Box. The *Woman's Mirror* discusses all sorts of important problems, often as a result of queries which have been raised by the readers themselves.

Questions for discussion:

1. How far do you think the various articles which appear in *Woman*—for instance on Social Problems, Etiquette, Beauty and Household Hints—could help to make a woman happier in her relations with others?
2. As women increase in self-confidence and happiness, how far will this affect society as a whole?
3. What interests and problems have most women in common which make a magazine like *Woman* possible? Do you include finding a husband, running a home and raising children?
4. What magazine features have the greatest attraction for your school members?

Lord Northcliffe

NOTES BY NELLIE CHALLIS

The greatest figure of Fleet Street

There is no doubt about the enormous influence of Lord Northcliffe in Fleet Street. Largely owing to him newspapers made the revolutionary change from being organs of opinion earning small profits to being organs of entertainment and publicity capable of making huge fortunes. He signed himself "Chief", and he made his own fortune before he was thirty. He was a keen observer of human nature. A shrewd eye for exceptional ability and a fury of concentration made him the successful journalist which he became. "I attribute my success", he said, "to seeing ahead". He had the same shrewd wisdom concerning his own career. Although Northcliffe embarrassed many a politician who thought to muzzle him into accepting government office, he consistently refused. Supreme artist as he was in Fleet Street, he would have been a failure in Westminster.

Early life and education

Alfred Charles William Harmsworth was born in Dublin in 1865. After two years the family moved to St. John's Wood, London, where his father practised as a barrister. The eleven children, of whom Alfred was the eldest, were happy and united—largely owing to their mother's influence. Alfred was extraordinarily attractive, carrying himself with such a commanding air that people often turned to look at him. At his Dame School he impressed his teacher by his compositions and later at Henley House School he started a school magazine. Thus early he was clearly a leader and popular with his fellows. Books were his special delight. Before he had left school at the age of sixteen and a half he had been given a toy printing set by a neighbour, who also showed him the composing room of the Hampstead and Highgate Express. His father, however, gave him no encouragement towards a journalistic career; he wanted his son to read for the bar. But after an

illness which sent him convalescing on holiday through France and Germany, Alfred was mentally invigorated and fortified in his resolve to be a journalist.

Journalism

When 18 years old he earned £3 a week at free-lance work on *Youth*, *The Illustrated London News*, *The Referee*, *The Boys' Newspaper*, *Comic Cuts* and *Tit-Bits*. Iliffes of Coventry offered Alfred the editorship of *Bicycling News*. This paper soon responded to his touch, and its circulation rose; within a fortnight he had given it an adventurous outlook. His lack of technical knowledge was offset by his intuitive understanding of what cycling enthusiasts would read; for instance, he popularized the camera.

On his wedding day, April 14th, 1888, he and the best man had unpublished copies of *Answers to Correspondents* showing from their jacket pockets; he hoped that this new paper would receive some of the blessings of the day. It was a hard struggle to pay the printers' bills, but by dogged persistence he succeeded, because he lived and worked at such a bewildering speed.

By 1890 the circulation of *Answers* exceeded 190,000 copies weekly. A summer number would contain, for a penny, some sixteen pages in three broad columns. The material was varied, written in light vein and enlivened by simple jokes. Short paragraphs gave information on every subject under the sun, and there were "storyettes" on such notable people as Whistler, H. M. Stanley, Julia Neilson and Gladstone. There are two reasons, Harmsworth said, for buying a paper—habit and curiosity.

Widening out

In 1894 *The Evening News* was purchased for £25,000. Within three years it had earned its purchase price and was flourishing at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per copy.

The first copy of *The Daily Mail*, May 4th, 1896, was handed by the head printer to Alfred Harmsworth, who autographed and sent it to his mother. He then signed 100 copies for his staff. In his diary he recalls: "I did not leave the office for the first two days and nights; then I went home and slept for 24 hours." It was a tremendous success but was

only achieved "after a severe struggle and with many misgivings".

This first issue was of eight pages, as follows: *Page 1*—small adverts.; births, marriages and deaths; books and new novels; concerts. *Page 2*—city news; law and police reports; "Booksellers" dinner. *Page 3*—chat about books; home and foreign news miscellany; "The carriage of the future" at Crystal Palace; long hours of domestic service. *Page 4*—theatre notices; weather chart; home and foreign news summary; political gossip. *Page 5*—main news of the day; Cecil Rhodes in Bulawayo; murder trial at Reading. *Page 6*—sport: cricket and cycling. *Page 7*—feature for women; new story. *Page 8*—advertisements.

The *Daily Mirror* was launched in 1903. It was not long before picture journalism reached the million mark under Hamilton Fyfe's editorship. *The Harmsworth Encyclopaedia*, *The Harmsworth Self-Educator* and *The Children's Encyclopaedia* were abounding successes. They kindled desire for knowledge and were a personal satisfaction to Alfred. *The Overseas Daily Mail* established a bond of union among the hundreds of thousands of Britons in the far corners of the world.

Before any new publication came out Alfred would summon his brothers Harold, Cecil, Leicester and Hildebrand to a round table conference for discussion; Alfred stressed the journalism aspect, but Harold's economy and business acumen were apparent in the undertakings.

Wise foresight enabled the Harmsworths to construct large timber mills in Newfoundland for paper-making for their vast news-print.

The new Harmsworth journalism changed the relationship between the press and the public. The older literary style was dropped, and everything was simplified; foreign language and quotations were discouraged; maps and illustrations were included; and competitions stimulated the sales. Regular features appeared in the same place day after day. Northcliffe said that readers must know where to find what they wanted.

For the first time large numbers of city-bound readers could be sure of having a good grasp of the day's news by the time their morning journey was done. Women were induced to buy papers because their interests were now considered.

Chief Proprietor of *The Times*

In 1908 *The Times* was in financial difficulties; to A. H. this was "a glittering prize", and after secret negotiations he acquired it. Alterations and improvements were made but its essentials were kept, and it was brought up-to-date and made as nearly as possible an ideal newspaper. Northcliffe wished to see it "an absolutely independent newspaper, worthy of high tradition, the organ of neither parties, sects nor financiers; its columns open to every shade of politics, a newspaper run not as a profit-making machine". He willed that the control of *The Times* should revert to the Walter family who originally owned it. Wickham Steed was appointed editor, its circulation increased, and it became the soundest and most respected daily paper in the world.

Northcliffe had an odd sentimental affection for all the publications he had created, but nothing gave him such satisfaction as having created *The Daily Mail* and nothing such pride as owning *The Times*.

Political power

Northcliffe was fascinated by politics. He stood as a parliamentary candidate at the General Election but without success. His knowledge of men at the top and of their affairs gave him great power, but he did not always use it wisely. He was bitterly disappointed at being excluded from the Peace Conference at Versailles. Winston Churchill said of him:

"He wielded power without official responsibility, enjoyed secret knowledge without the general view, and disturbed the fortunes of national leaders without being willing to bear their burdens . . . claiming to make or mar public men, to sustain or discipline commanders, to shape policies, and to fashion or overthrow governments."

Whatever the political world may think of him, however—and there are conflicting opinions—all acknowledge him in the field of journalism as the great Press Chief.

Honours showered upon him

In 1904 he was created a baronet, and thus the popular press received acknowledgement in the form of official honours. At a staff dinner he replied: "I was tired of hearing so and so call me 'Mr. 'Armsworth'; it will be a change to hear him

say 'Sir Halfred'." In 1905 he became a baron and in 1918 he was made a Viscount in honour of his war service.

Lloyd George asked him to be Chief of the British War Mission in U.S.A. There he skilfully co-ordinated the buying of stores for Britain in the First World War. In a letter home he said: "I've never worked so hard in my life. I'm the greatest spendthrift in history, spending over £2,000,000 a day."

On returning to England he became Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. He undermined German confidence and morale by the dropping of leaflets from aeroplanes over their lines. (Many of these leaflets were written by H. G. Wells.)

Northcliffe was more popular in America than here in England, where he shunned publicity. At his stately Tudor home—Sutton Place, in Surrey—he entertained right royally. He refused Cabinet Office under Lloyd George's Government.

Northcliffe's world tour

Northcliffe's world tour was an enormous success. Nearly everywhere he went he was heralded. Every day he wrote to his mother and sent instructions to his staff. In America he met many notable people, including Henry Ford and Thomas Edison. He saw also acquaintances of his early cycling days. Australians whom he had supported in the Gallipoli campaign cheered him in every State. He loved their sunny country but was amazed at their indifference to events in the outside world, especially those in Asia. He was the guest of the King of Siam and was charmed by the customs of the Chinese. He was alive to a possible danger from Japan. Writing to his brother Harold he said: "My regret is that I didn't make this tour when I was much younger. I could have been much more useful to the public if I had known then what I know now."

Returning to England he resumed work, but his throat began to trouble him and he became seriously ill at Carlton House. Finally, worn out in body and mind, he died on August 17th, 1922, at the age of 57. The funeral was at Westminster Abbey and the interment near to his mother, at St. Marylebone Cemetery.

Messages from Kings, Presidents, Prime Ministers, political and industrial leaders, Ambassadors, representatives of many races and personages of many countries, paid tribute to Lord Northcliffe as a man of world stature.

For discussion:

1. How can information—on which a free democracy depends for its health—be kept clear of official control and yet escape vulgarity and irresponsibility?
2. How was Harmsworth so easily able to attract the pennies of the people for his newspapers?
3. Northcliffe saw broadcasting as a rival to his newspapers and magazines. Do you think they *are* competitors?

Books for reference:

Northcliffe. Reginald Pound. (Harmsworth. 42s.)

Northcliffe. Hamilton Fyfe. (Allen and Unwin. 16s.) From a library.

Lord Northcliffe. A. P. Ryan. (Collins. 7s. 6d.)

Section V

H. G. Wells and "Mr. Polly"

NOTES BY G. LAWRENCE BURTON

From the standpoint of the theme of this book, one of the outstanding features of this century so far has been the emergence of the common man, the "little man" as he is sometimes called; the growing recognition of his significance to himself as a person, and of his place in society. This has been reflected in much of the art and the literature of the period, sometimes in a serious vein, sometimes through satire and caricature. Think, for instance, of Bruce Bairnsfather's "Ole Bill" in the first World War; more recently of the cartoons of Strube; the early Chaplin films; the onlooker in *1066 and all that*: all depict the "little man" and give him a place of his own.

The common man has very largely brought about his own social and political importance. Although it was a time when the "little man" was subjected to all sorts of social and economic injustices, the first decade or two of this century saw the rise of the working man as a political power, together with the growth of the Trade Union Movement; they saw too the establishment of the Labour Party as a political factor. There was the "new woman" also, with her vote and the greater part she was beginning to play in the public life of the community and in the professions. It was a period of new awakening on the part of ordinary men and women.

A factor which contributed to this new awakening was an increase in reading on the part of ordinary people. It was due to several causes. The first ten years of the century saw an increase in the publication of the cheap series of standard works of literature. There were the "Everyman" series and the "World's Classics", for instance, published at one shilling a volume. The development of the Public Library Service up and down the country further encouraged the ordinary man

to read seriously. It was to these "new readers" that Wells appealed; he spoke to them and for them, because in his early days he had himself been the "little man".

(a) THE EARLY H. G. WELLS

Circumstances and education

Herbert George Wells was born on September 21st, 1866, in Bromley, Kent, in very ordinary circumstances. His father kept a small shop, something in the nature of a general store. It would seem that he neglected his business in order to play cricket, and it is on record that he was, for a short time, a professional in the Kent County Cricket team. It was in a room above the shop that H. G. Wells was born, into a lower middle-class society. He began life in conditions only just removed from poverty, in a home where it was a constant struggle to make ends meet. That early environment coloured his whole outlook on life. His best novels are those which deal with people in similar circumstances, people like Mr. Polly, Kipps, and Mr. Lewisham. The first school to which Wells was sent was "kept by an unqualified old lady" and it was here that he learned the rudiments of reading. A broken leg when he was eight years old kept him in bed for several weeks, during which he was able to read stories of adventure and travel, biographies, and bound volumes of *Punch*. "My world," he says, "began to expand very rapidly". When he was well again he was sent to a "Commercial Academy" in High Street, Bromley, where he seems to have done well. He records in his *Autobiography* that when he left he had a good knowledge of "book-keeping by double entry" and "the ability to use English with some precision and delicacy".

Early apprenticeships

On leaving school at the age of thirteen he was apprenticed to a draper. This only lasted two months, after which he was sent to stay with his Uncle William in Somersetshire. The uncle was a schoolmaster and Wells for a time helped him in the school. This again only lasted for a very short time and Wells was sent to work in a chemist's shop in Midhurst in Sussex. Here he seems to have been more contented with his

lot. Unfortunately, after about a month, he had to leave, because his mother could not afford the fees that his training demanded. This interest in chemistry was no doubt the beginning of the wider interest in the sciences which was to stand him in such good stead later on. He began, too, to take Latin lessons from the Headmaster of Midhurst Grammar School. When he left the chemist's shop his mother, who looked upon "the drapery" as the only respectable career for her son, apprenticed him once again to a drapery emporium in Southsea. At last Wells seems to have revolted: almost in desperation he wrote to the headmaster at Midhurst, asking if he could have a post in the Grammar School. He was fortunate and was engaged as a student-teacher. He concentrated, too, on his own studies, with the result that he gained a free place at the Normal School of Science, now the Imperial College of Science and Technology in South Kensington. Here he worked under such famous teachers as T. H. Huxley, and in 1890 he took his B.Sc. degree.

Teaching and writing

On leaving the College he again took up teaching, this time in Wales. While there he met with an accident which seriously affected his health: he was laid up for several months. During this time, he says, "I read, wrote and thought abundantly". He also started to write a novel as well as short stories, but nothing is known of these early efforts. His next move was as assistant master at Henley House School in the Kilburn district of London, where the headmaster was J. V. Milne, the father of A. A. Milne, the creator of Christopher Robin. While at Henley House, in order to augment his income, he became a tutor in biology for a Correspondence College. His biology course was published in 1893 as *A Textbook of Biology*, his first book. A further period of illness necessitated a long convalescence at Eastbourne. While there he happened to pick up J. M. Barrie's *When a Man's Single* in a bookshop. He was so impressed by Barrie's accounts of his early days as a journalist in Nottingham and London that he decided to take up writing as his own career. "In a couple of months," he says, "I was earning more than I had ever done in my class-teaching days." Within a year he had produced his first two novels, *The Time Machine* and *The Wonderful Visit*. Thus began the literary career which was to make him famous.

Personal characteristics

In his personal relationships Wells was not an easy man to get on with. This difficulty may well have been due in considerable measure to his own indifferent health, particularly when he was a young man. He has been described as truculent and aggressive in conversation, tending to try to force his opinions on others. There was an attractive side, however: he had a keen sense of humour, and on occasions he could show real affection towards his friends.

The Novels

This brief survey of Wells's early years enables us to see the parallel between Wells himself and the character of "Mr. Polly", at which we look in the next study. To take a more general view, however, of his work as a whole, we may note that Wells's novels can be divided roughly into three main periods.

(i) There are the rather fantastic and romantic stories about a vision of the world two hundred years ahead, about drugs which make creatures grow to enormous sizes, about a strange bird that visits the village. These are portrayed in the novels *When the Sleeper Wakes*, *Food of the Gods*, *The Wonderful Visit*, respectively, and others. Most of these so-called "scientific" novels were written before 1900.

(ii) The second period saw the publication of the novels of character and humour, with which we are concerned in these studies. They included such works as *Love and Mr. Lewisham*, *Kipps*, *Tono-Bungay*, and *The History of Mr. Polly*. Most of these were written in the first decade of the present century.

(iii) The third period covers what are usually described as the "discussion" or "sociological" novels, such as *Marriage*, *The New Machiavelli*, *Joan and Peter*, and *The World of William Clissold*. These came later, together with a number of works, other than fiction, which are outside the scope of these studies. It will be understood that this division of Wells's work is somewhat general: there is a certain amount of overlapping. The division merely indicates the main trends in his literary career.

Clearly Wells was himself, in his early years, representative of the ordinary or "little" man. In some of his novels he has portrayed this type of character, revealing the significance of the "common" man in an ordinary lower middle-class society. One of these "middle-period" novels will be considered in the next study.

Question:

How far was Wells, in his youth, typical of young people then and now?

Book references:

- Wells (H. G.). *Experiment in Autobiography*. 2 volumes. (Gollancz, and the Cresset Press. 1934.) From a library.
 H. G. Wells. G. West. (Howe. 1936. 4s. 6d.)
 H. G. Wells. V. Brome. (Longmans. 1951. 21s.)

(b) "Mr. POLLY"**Book:**

Wells (H. G.). *The History of Mr. Polly*. Heritage of Literature Series. Longmans. 6s. *Page references in the notes are to this edition.*

The story

The History of Mr. Polly was published in 1910, a novel of character and humour. In this study we are looking at it as a typical example of the way in which Wells revealed the ordinary man, with his problems and difficulties, his hopes and ambitions. It is the story of just an ordinary little man, Alfred Polly, a dyspeptic, inefficient shopkeeper, striving to break away from an environment that restricts his efforts to live a more adventurous life. After having served behind the counter in several shops, he receives a small legacy which enables him to marry and buy a shop of his own in a small seaside town. Here for a number of years he struggles against the results of his own inabilities as a man of business. As he sees bankruptcy approaching, he decides to commit suicide, after having set fire to the shop. He succeeds in the latter but fails in the former. He runs away and gets a job as handyman in a country inn. Here he seems quite happy until a ferocious nephew of the landlady turns up and terrorizes his aunt and threatens destruction to Mr. Polly if he does not clear out. Finally, after several encounters, the villain is driven away, taking with him some of Mr. Polly's clothes. From time to time Polly has twinges of conscience about the home he has destroyed and the wife he has deserted. At last he decides to visit the old town and finds that his wife Miriam and her sister have opened a tea-shop in the very street where the drapery business had once stood. While there he learns that

the landlady's nephew had been found drowned and wearing Mr. Polly's clothes. The story ends with Mr. Polly returning to the inn.

The character of Mr. Polly

As has been said, there is much in Mr. Polly's life that is reminiscent of Wells's own early manhood. Wells must have had memories of schoolmastering and "the drapery" in his mind when he created Polly. The parallel is evident as the story proceeds. We see Mr. Polly, born into very humble circumstances, poorly educated, suffering from indigestion because of bad feeding as a child, undecided as to his future. In Wells's own case, due to his own efforts, these conditions were largely overcome.

His simple satisfactions

Even Mr. Polly attained to a certain happiness and contentment at the end. We feel that, to a certain extent at any rate, he has surmounted the trials and difficulties which could have been disastrous. In both Wells himself and in Mr. Polly we see the "little" man emerge and establish himself as a person who matters. We know him for what he is, a very ordinary person, very much like ourselves, with troubles and frustrations, and moments of triumph too—a mixture of all the conflicting elements that go to make up life itself. At the end, when he has vanquished his landlady's bully-of-a-nephew, he feels he has justified his existence. He is happy in a simple way. Simple things satisfy him—lettuce and cold beef, the river in the evening as he sits at the inn door, sunsets, ducks, wild flowers, the smell of hay: these are realities to Mr. Polly.

"Sometimes I think I live for sunsets. . . . sunsets and things I was made to like."

His bewilderment

Judged by most standards of behaviour, the way in which Mr. Polly rebelled against the circumstances of his life would be considered very reprehensible; in fact, in the eyes of the law, he would be condemned as a criminal. He had deserted his wife, set fire to his shop and home, defrauded the insurance company, and quarrelled with his neighbours—all incompatible with what was right and proper. Yet he was not criminal by

nature; he was not vicious; he was just a victim of circumstances which were outside his control and beyond his understanding. He had a feeling that things were wrong with him, but he did not know in what way. He had no feelings of guilt; he was just bewildered.

"He could not grasp what was wrong with him. He made enormous efforts to diagnose his case . . . He blamed his father a good deal—it is what fathers are for—in putting him to a trade he wasn't happy to follow, but he found it impossible to say what he ought to have followed. He felt there had been something stupid about his school, but just where that came in he couldn't say . . . And for all his attempts at self-reproach and self-discipline he felt at bottom that he wasn't at fault." (Page 45).

His dyspepsia

And the cause of his trouble was so simple, yet for Mr. Polly it was something from which he could not escape. Other writers might tell of the lives broken by social evils, but Mr. Polly's little world is shaken to its roots by stomach upset, so that he hates everything about him—his home, the shop, his wife, and his neighbours; they are all "beastly" to Polly. Wells was a scientist and to him the human body was a machine. Trained in biology, he saw the human mechanism as something to be treated with care and respect. On that simple fact the welfare of society depended. It was Mr. Polly's problem, and in the story we see its consequences.

"To the moralist I know he might have served as a figure of sinful discontent, but that is because it is the habit of moralists to ignore material circumstances—if, indeed, one may speak of a recent meal as a circumstance . . . neither church nor state nor school will raise a warning finger against a man and his hunger and his wife's catering. So on nearly every day in his life Mr. Polly fell into a violent rage and hatred against the outer world in the afternoon, and never suspected that it was this inner world, to which I am with such masterly delicacy alluding, that was thus reflecting its sinister disorder upon the things without." (Page 3.)

His curiosity

Mr. Polly had imagination and a natural curiosity which, if it had been encouraged along right lines while he was a child,

might have made life the great adventure it just missed being for him. (Read the paragraph at the foot of page 9 and the top of page 10. It contains the real key to Mr. Polly's character.)

His reading

A big part was played in Polly's life by *reading* and by *words*. Even as a boy he neglected his lessons in order to read stories of adventure. Words seem to have had a great fascination for him and, because he had never been encouraged while at school to appreciate the beauties of his own language, he often misused and even invented words. That striving after something he was never quite able to reach was typical of much in his life.

What matters in *The History of Mr. Polly* is not any social evil which it depicts but the character of Mr. Polly himself. So many of those evils are now past—the ill-treatment of children, a faulty education system, "blind-alley" employment. But the character of Mr. Polly remains—a symbol of struggle: humorous, always lovable, a figure of comedy but with pathos never far away.

Questions for discussion:

1. Is it true that real happiness and satisfaction, as in Mr. Polly's case, can often be found in simple, ordinary experiences? (Read Chapter 10, pages 240 to 245.)
2. Can you think of other ways in which Mr. Polly is typical of the "little" man?
3. In spite of the higher status of the "little" man to-day, is he any less bewildered than Mr. Polly was?

Section VI

Negro Spirituals

NOTES BY JAMES W. DUCKER

"You can play a tune of sorts on the white keys, and you can play a tune of sorts on the black keys, but for harmony you must use both the white and the black." (AGGREY.)

From the point of view that people matter, the sufferings of the Afro-American race, through slavery and later through the colour-bar, seem to demonstrate that even in adversity a people can give of their inborn artistry and religious fervour for the enrichment of their fellows.

Folk-music

There is no such thing as a songless nation. There may be no written music but the folk-song is a feature of all nations. Even the news-boy shouting his latest results will make a tune by his constant repetition. The music of the Afro-American race is of this traditional type—not easily written down and best performed by groups who have lived through great emotional or religious experiences. The human voice is a delicate and yet most effective instrument, particularly so in the case of the Negro singer. Percy Scholes in *The Oxford Companion to Music* says: "It has always been recognized that the Afro-American race possessed a great enthusiasm for, and instinctive talent in, music."

Slavery and revival

The negro spirituals came into being about a hundred years ago. This was a result not mainly of the burden of slavery but of the revival movement that swept the country at that time. Their subject matter is said to owe much to the early Baptist and Methodist revival meetings. The words often have very little literary value. There is much repetition of phrases in individual spirituals and often a phrase will be

found recurring in many songs. The songs contain primitively expressed ideas about God or are based on some Bible incident or story. There is a desire to find rest and peace with God, to get to Heaven, to defeat Satan and to conquer sin. Many contain dramatic references to the sufferings of Christ or dwell upon the coming of death ("Were you there?", "Never said a mumbalin' word"). In those which recall Old Testament stories there is very much to support the view that many of the spirituals were born out of slavery and bondage and express very simply a universal human desire for freedom ("Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel?", "Go down Moses", "Nobody knows the trouble I see".)

The melodies

A study of these melodies will reveal a background of deep religious experience which was a heritage of the West African. The tribal religion had been an everyday thing, a subtle combination of familiarity and fear of the tribal gods. This experience was brought to the worship of the Christian God. With it there was the complex rhythm and counter-rhythm of the African tribal dance, which was later to become the basis of jazz and swing music. There is a prevailing note of sadness in nearly all the spirituals.

Musicians and singers

Coleridge-Taylor (whose father was African and his mother English) was one of the best known of the negro musicians and composers. His music, and particularly his songs, provide constant reminders of his African background. The violinist Bridgetower, for whom Beethoven wrote the "Kreutzer Sonata" (Violin and Pianoforte Sonata in A) and who performed it with him, had an African father. A very great impression was made in this country when the Jubilee Singers came to make their first concert tour.

Of the vocalists there is little doubt that Paul Robeson is the best known. He has achieved an international reputation by his singing and acting. His voice has the texture of velvet and he has done more to revive interest in the negro spiritual than has any other artist. In a career of over thirty years, his simplicity of interpretation—a mark of great artistry—has made a moving impression upon audiences in all parts of the world. His father, the Rev. W. D. Robeson, was a New Jersey

slave and often spoke about William Wilberforce. His brother, the Rev. Benjamin Robeson, is minister of the Afro-American Methodist Church in New York, a church known to Wilberforce himself.

The significance of the words

A closer examination of the words of the spirituals shows that they are all very largely on the same pattern. Working-gangs would sing their folk tunes as they did their heavy tasks, and in the religious meetings the singing of the spirituals would follow a similar method. The leader would sing a line or two and all would join in the chorus. The leader would often sing his lines impromptu, which accounts for the great variation in the words in different editions. The accompaniment would be upon bones or with hand-clapping.

In the spiritual "Nobody knows de trouble I see" (in some editions "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen") we find the sufferings of the negro slaves compared to the suffering that characterized the life of Jesus: "Nobody knows but Jesus", and "Sometimes I'm almost to the ground". In "Swing low, sweet chariot" there is the story of Elijah and the chariot which carried him to Heaven and a feeling of anticipation of the joys that await the slave when he is free from this world's troubles. In the midst of all his troubles the slave can sing for joy; his religion brings him comfort as he recites these troubles and the temptations which beset him, and they vanish altogether at the final "Glory, Hallelujah".

The spirituals were also a simple way of teaching Bible stories and emphasizing the great moments in the life of Jesus. There is no striking or original thought in the words, but the emotional appeal can at times be overwhelming when they are sung by those negro voices. It has been suggested that the spirituals relate the story of Jesus and the concept of the "Suffering Servant" found in Isaiah. This relation may well have been in the mind of the preachers during the revival meetings, at which great use was made of the spirituals.

The spirituals to-day

It is probably true that interest in the negro spiritual has declined, both in America and in this country, just as old favourites and chorus hymns do not make the same appeal nowadays. The growth of education and culture brings a

development of interest in literature and in classical music, and the purely emotional appeal of the spiritual does not satisfy. Nevertheless there is little doubt that the spirituals have provided a great deal of inspiration both for religion and for music in this country and in America. It may well be, however, that the texture of voice in the negro singer is necessary for a real appreciation of the value of the spirituals.

Questions for discussion:

1. Visitors to the Oberammergau Passion Play say that during the crucifixion scene they are reminded of the negro spiritual "Were you there?" Do you have any deep emotional experience when listening to spirituals?

2. Is it better to *listen* to spirituals than to try to sing them ourselves?

3. Are you very much attached to the "old favourites"?

Records:

MBE 11073 and 11102. (Philips.) Paul Robeson. (6 spirituals on each).

Music:

Dvorak's *New World Symphony*. (Contains a number of themes that suggest the negro idiom.)

Books:

Paul Robeson, Negro. Eslanda Goode Robeson. (Gollancz. 10s. 6d.)

Best Loved American Folk Songs. John and Alan Lomax. (Crosset & Dunlap, New York. 37s. 6d.) Not easily obtainable.

The Treasury of Negro Spirituals. Ed. H. A. Chambers. (Blanford Press. London. 10s. 6d.)

All obtainable from a library.

Section VII

Education and Living

NOTES BY GEORGE T. LLOYD

(a) EQUALITY IN EDUCATION

Levelling up

The last two hundred years have seen great changes in the way Europeans live. The Study Handbook for 1960, pages 88 to 93, shows in detail the rapidity of changes in the distribution of wealth in this country, a change towards greater equality. Along with this movement towards more equality, consciously striven for and brought about by legislation or negotiation, have come less articulate changes in social habits which go deeper and which irresistibly level out the differences between people. Whether they are the results or only the concomitants of twentieth-century technological progress, and whether they are changes for the better or the worse, are matters of debate. More and more we tend to live in mass-produced houses or flats, with similar amenities, similar appearance, similar furniture, similar curtains and floor-coverings, and similar decorations. We eat the same nationally advertised foods from the same kinds of packets and tins; we wear the same kind of clothes as other people of the same age and sex, and not as formerly of the same class; we spend our leisure time in much the same way. Mass production and mechanization have brought more and more of us into the same vast factories and offices, doing work which becomes less and less individualized. To this homogeneous way of living J. B. Priestley and Jacquetta Hawkes, in their *Journey down a Rainbow*, have given the name of "Admass", because it is based upon the enormous power of *advertising* to stimulate desires in the *masses*, and upon the ability of *mass* production methods to produce identical goods to satisfy those desires.

Question for discussion:

Do you think it is a good thing that we should grow more alike? Can you quote further examples of this same tendency?

Equality in education

These changes in the external conditions of living have had profound effects upon our ways of thinking. In the wider sense of "education" they are continually educating us. In the narrower sense of "education" there has also been a strong movement towards equality, especially in the twentieth century. The intervention of the State in this country is a recent development and was at first led by Christians using the machinery of legislation for assisting charitable enterprise. The introduction by a middle- and upper-class Parliament of compulsory schooling for all children was partly an act of charity, the easing of the consciences of the educationally privileged by granting a basic minimum to the unprivileged. (It had its economic motive, too.) Historically we can see it as a step towards equality in education, but the kind of education the later nineteenth-century English Parliament provided as a basic minimum for all was very different from that which private enterprise provided for the children of the middle and upper classes, and it left the possibility of higher education for all nearly as remote as it had ever been.

(a) Secondary education

If we are to regard education as something more than an acquisition of certain elementary skills (the 3 R's), then the idea of equal rights in education is very new indeed in this country; it belongs to our generation, though in France it was written into the draft Constitution of the Republic 170 years ago: "Instruction is the need of all, and society owes it equally to all its members." It is best expressed in the aim of the 1944 Act—"Secondary Education for All".

(b) Secondary education for some

The evolution of the term "secondary education" needs some study. It was brought over to this country from France by Matthew Arnold, a hundred years ago, and until very recently has been almost synonymous with "grammar school" education. It provided instruction in classical and foreign languages, in divinity, in mathematics, and to a lesser degree

in literature and natural sciences, and was virtually the only way into the learned professions and the universities. It was intended only for a minority; the rest went to "elementary schools".

(c) Secondary education for more

There was a great extension of secondary schools after the 1902 Act, under which County Councils and County Borough Councils took over and expanded many existing grammar schools and built many more "High Schools" and gave free places in those schools by scholarships. The Bryce report had already defined a "secondary school" more precisely as a school in which a substantial proportion of pupils remained up to and beyond the age of sixteen years. By this definition we are still several years away from attaining "Secondary Education for All". But in the sense in which "secondary" was used in the Hadow Report of 1926 we are nearer: the Hadow Report recommended that the term "elementary" should be discontinued and that "secondary" education should be education from eleven to fifteen or beyond, and that all children should receive both "primary" and "secondary" education as successive stages of instruction.

(d) Secondary education for all

The final stage in the conception of secondary education was reached in the Act of 1944, which prescribed that all children should receive education suited to their age, aptitude, and ability, in the first place to the age of fifteen, and as soon as possible to the age of sixteen. It should be noted that the definition of "secondary" education was by the age of the pupils, since this is easy to determine, but that the word was originally concerned with the quality of education. It implied something more than rudimentary skills—it implied the acquisition of traditional wisdom and the fostering of an ability for further development. It is this connotation of the word that still prevails with the general public, and accounts for their disappointment with the earlier stages of carrying out the 1944 Act, and to some extent with the present situation. Education to 15 or 16* is not all that is wanted. The feeling

* The Government statement on the Crowther Report, debated in the Commons on March 20th, 1960, suggests that the limit of compulsory education will not be raised to 16 before the 1970's.

is still strong that the quality of secondary education is not changed when it goes on in the old "elementary" or "senior" school, often with the pupils sitting in the same desks occupied by their grandparents, and given by teachers always inadequate in numbers and sometimes inadequate in academic and professional training.

Some questions about equality

At this stage it is desirable to examine more carefully the varying conceptions of equality. Does equality in education mean equality in the material surroundings: the same number of pupils in each class, the same amenities in the classroom, equal treatment in the matter of books, visual and aural aids, playing fields, and so on? Does equality mean that all children should be taught by equally well trained teachers? Does equality require that all children of the same age should be taught the same kind of subjects, regardless of their ability and aptitude? Does it require that they should be taught in a common school, instead of being segregated into different schools for different purposes? Or, even within the same school, should they be divided into classes according to ability? Is equality simply a matter of giving all children the same opportunity, irrespective of the use they make of it? Or does equality in education mean something more subtle and sophisticated, "a highly individualized notion of equality based, not on the similarities between individuals, but on their differences . . . an equality designed to reveal a wide range of individual differences—*inequalities* in fact—but a *normal order* of inequalities based on individual and not on class or other factitious differences?" (Dr. Jean Floud, reported in *Education* 24.10.58). These questions are posed, not answered, to indicate the kind of discussion going on at all levels of the political and educational world; and the differences of opinion which cause different solutions to be offered in different parts of the country.

For discussion:

What do you mean by equality in education?

Inequality of education

In George Orwell's satire, *Animal Farm*, this kind of confusion led to the memorable paradox "All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others." In the

implementation of the 1944 Act there is great inequality from district to district.

(a) *Inequalities within the State System*

An analysis of the "proportion of all pupils who have 5 years' full-time education in maintained schools or colleges of further education" in England showed that the highest proportion was nearly one-third, in a North-Western area, and the lowest was less than one-sixth, in a North-Eastern area. Obviously, then, the chances of obtaining extended education depend upon the area in which one lives. This is partly because the proportion of grammar school places varies widely (from over 50 per cent. to under 10 per cent. of the age group) according to the policy of the Local Education Authority, and partly because the provision of G.C.E. or similar courses in other secondary schools varies considerably. These inequalities are known and resented. Again, there is a great inequality between areas in the number of pupils in a class. The large industrial conurbations of the Midlands and the North have great difficulty in finding enough teachers of any kind to avoid a complete breakdown even with classes of 40 to 50 in secondary schools and 50 to 60 or more in primary schools, while other areas can have their choice of well-qualified teachers and put them to teach classes only half the size of those in the areas of shortage. Still another inequality arises from the different attitudes of authorities to grants for education beyond the secondary stage. In some areas any student who is accepted by a university receives a grant equivalent to that of a State Scholar; in other areas the number of such grants is limited, the amounts are less generous, and the authority requires high attainment in a special scholarship examination. It is not unknown for anxious parents to move house from a miserly to a generous authority merely to obtain University or College education for their children.* In the matter of buildings, equipment and playing fields also there is a great difference.

(b) *"Two Nations"*

The inequalities between state-maintained schools are great, but those between state-maintained and private, or in-

* The Anderson Report, published in 1960, recommends that State Scholarships should be ended and that all local Education Authority awards should be equalized. On the controversial question of parental contribution the committee was divided.

dependent, and semi-independent schools are greater. As a general rule, the buildings of independent schools are more dignified, if not more convenient, playing fields are more extensive, classes are much smaller, and for a variety of reasons teachers are better qualified than in maintained schools. This is true both of the preparatory schools, which take pupils up to the age of thirteen plus, and of the "public" schools to which their pupils go in due course. Because of the social background of their parents, the proportion of pupils continuing their schooling beyond the age of sixteen is much higher. In 1958, 33 per cent. of the maintained grammar school pupils who were aged 15 two years earlier stayed to the age of 17, but 47 per cent. stayed in Direct Grant schools, and 41 per cent. in independent schools (Crowther Report, Table 25). Another Table in the same report clearly indicates that the proportion steadily descends with the social class from which pupils come (Table 2). In 1956 boys from independent schools were only 10 per cent. of the candidates for Scholarships and Exhibitions for Oxford and Cambridge, but won 50 per cent. of the awards. A survey, reported in *The Times Educational Supplement* of October 16th, 1959, showed that only half as many men came up to Cambridge in 1955 from grammar schools as from independent schools, although there are nearly three times as many boys in grammar sixth forms as in independent sixth forms. There are many reasons for this, but it seems clear that the boy at an independent school has much greater educational opportunity than his grammar school contemporary, if admission to Cambridge University is educational opportunity.

Eleven Plus

The selection examination for secondary schools, the Eleven Plus, has in recent years been the focal point at which a great deal of public resentment and suspicion of our educational system has gathered. It is much more a social than an educational problem. There are sound educational arguments against selecting children at all, against selecting at eleven, and against the present methods of selecting; but the most vocal objections are social and come from the average parent who is afraid that his or her child may not be selected, or resentful that the child has not been so selected. At present the grammar school or independent school enjoys enormous prestige because it is the recognized path to a better job, and almost the only

way to university education. It is social prestige or prospect of financial gain that most parents seek for their children, not enlightenment of the mind. It may be as well to give a few details about a selection procedure which for practical reasons will have to continue for several years, whatever decisions upon it may be taken at local or national level as the results of elections.

(i) Selection is actually made at ten, not eleven.

(ii) It is as fair and accurate as human ingenuity can make it. Statisticians and psychologists and teachers are constantly scrutinizing and trying to improve the procedure. Accusations of social or political bias on the part of the selectors are invariably proved baseless.

(iii) Most of the suspicion is directed at so-called "intelligence" tests. They are not tests of "intelligence", for there is no infallible criterion of "intelligence"; they are tests designed to indicate the prospects of success in a certain kind of school, and as such are reasonably (some would say remarkably) successful. They are given such an important part in the selection procedure because they depend far less than traditional tests of Arithmetic and English upon the kind of training the candidate has previously enjoyed, and are therefore fairer. They are usually supplemented by standardized tests of attainment in English and Arithmetic.

(iv) Most of the strain upon children is caused by over-anxious, or foolish, or snobbish parents, and by some teachers who are similarly afflicted. A great deal of the odium attaching to the selection procedure will be removed when the results of some of the developments in fields of secondary education other than secondary grammar are more widely known and appreciated.

For discussion:

Are you satisfied with the arrangements of secondary school selection in your district? Why not ask the Chief Education Officer to send one of his staff to explain local arrangements for selection?

Books for reference:

Growing in Charity. Adult School Handbook for 1960, especially pages 83-93.

Journey Down a Rainbow. J. Hawkes and J. B. Priestley. (From a library.)

15 to 18 (The Crowther Report). H.M.S.O. (12s. 6d. net.)

The Development of Secondary Education. Dr. F. L. Ralphs.
(A pamphlet, obtainable from the National Union of Teachers, Hamilton House, Mabledon Place, W.C.1.)

(b) SOCIAL PURPOSE IN EDUCATION

In this study we are to consider two kinds of school which owe their present publicity, though not their justification, to social pressures: the *comprehensive* and the *public* school. The comprehensive school has received much of its support from dislike of the eleven plus selection for secondary grammar schools. Before we consider its nature, it is desirable to look at other solutions of the difficulties caused by public resentment of the test.

Re-organization of Secondary Education since 1944

(a) *The Tripartite System*

The 1944 Act committed the nation to a tripartite division of secondary schools according to the aptitude and ability of pupils. For the great majority there was the secondary modern school (the word "modern" has no real significance, it is merely a name). The more intelligent and able were to be selected for either the secondary grammar or the secondary technical school. In theory these were to be parallel, but in practice there has been a tendency to send the most able to the grammar school and the second best to the technical school; few authorities have developed secondary technical schools to be a real alternative. There is general dissatisfaction with the present system, and the attempts to amend it are infinitely varied. They may be roughly classified in three groups: those which seek to patch up the system of selection at 11 without radical change, those which would defer selection to a later age, and those which abandon selection altogether.

Those authorities* which retain the present system of selection at 11 try to allay public anxiety by softening the hard distinctions between the various kinds of secondary school. Secondary modern schools have become much more examination-minded. Many of them have their own internal or Local Authority Certificates awarded at the end of a four year course, and a rapidly increasing number prepare pupils

* Only one authority in England and Wales (Anglesey) had completely abandoned Selection Tests by 1959.

willing to stay for a fifth year for commercial and technical examinations such as Pitman's, College of Preceptors, Union of Educational Institutes, and Royal Society of Arts, or for the General Certificate of Education at Ordinary Level. In most areas transfer between different types of schools is relatively easy, and often requires only agreement between the parents and the heads of the schools concerned. The general result of all these modifications is to give many more pupils an opportunity of obtaining a recognized examination qualification, and so to remove the social stigma which is thought to attach to failure to obtain a place in a selective school.

(b) New Kinds of Secondary School

In some authorities, e.g. Warwickshire, the name Secondary Modern has been dropped and all schools except grammar schools are styled High Schools, with planned five-year courses for the majority of pupils and advanced courses for those able and willing to stay till eighteen. Another new kind of post-war school is the "bilateral" which may be a combination of secondary modern and technical schools, resembling the High Schools, or a combination of secondary grammar and modern schools, or of secondary grammar and technical schools.

A number of authorities approach the problem differently and suggest that selection should be deferred to 13 or 14 or even 15, and that no children should be denied an opportunity of extended education to 18 in the new County College, Junior College, new-style Grammar School, or Comprehensive High School, to use some of the names for these suggested institutions. The Minister of Education has definitely ruled against one of these proposals (the 1954 Croydon Plan), and in view of the enormous expense involved in remodelling secondary education and the uncertainty about raising the school leaving age, even the more adventurous authorities are proceeding cautiously in limited experiments, e.g. Leicestershire.

The third approach to secondary education abandons selection altogether and unites all secondary education in Comprehensive Schools.

The Comprehensive School

(a) Origin and development

Comprehensive schools began rather as a practical way out of a difficulty than as an embodiment of political or

educational theories. Small authorities, like Anglesey or the Isle of Man, with a scattered population, could only meet their obligations under the 1944 Act by putting all the secondary pupils in one area into one school and arranging a variety of courses within the one school to suit the different needs of the children. Such schools were called Comprehensive Schools, and the most widely accepted definition of comprehensive secondary school to-day is still that it is a school which at the age of 11 takes in all the pupils of one area, a neighbourhood school, though some of them also admit pupils from a wider area than the immediate neighbourhood of the school. Besides being an administrative convenience, the innovation received strong support on educational and political grounds also—especially from the Labour Party, which saw in the comprehensive school an instrument for furthering social as well as educational ideals. Most of the controversy aroused by comprehensive schools has been due to political differences.

Statistics for 1957-58 showed 61 comprehensive schools in England and Wales (30 in London and Middlesex, 15 in the Midlands, 6 in the East and West Ridings, 3 in the Southern, 3 in the North Western, 2 in the North, and 1 in each of the North-Midland and Eastern regions). Thirty-three L.E.A.s had comprehensive or bilateral schools; 96 were without. In 1956 only 2.18 per cent. of secondary school children were in such schools, but by 1959 this had risen to 5.51 per cent., and it is estimated that by 1965 the proportion will be 11.31 per cent. The Crowther report comments:

“It is clear, therefore, that the shape of the English school system in 1978 will differ from that of 1958—perhaps almost as much as that of 1958 did from 1938”.

(b) *Organization*

Some comprehensive schools are still in make-shift premises. Most are very large by traditional standards, the average containing about 1,500 pupils, the largest 1,000 more, the smallest 1,000 fewer. Large numbers are necessary, according to some theorists, in order to yield a sufficient number of pupils capable of going on to advanced studies. This is usually estimated at about 10 per cent. of the age group, so that to give a yearly intake of 40 to the sixth form (not a very large number), the school would need a yearly intake of 400 pupils, and the final size of the school would be over 2,000. Some of the smaller comprehensive schools in Anglesey,

the Isle of Man, and South Staffordshire claim that the proportion of potential sixth formers is much higher than 10 per cent. The large size of the school brings corresponding advantages and disadvantages. The equipment of science laboratories, practical rooms, workshops, gymnasias, swimming baths, assembly halls, the dining facilities, and playing fields is far superior to that of smaller schools. A very wide variety of studies is possible, so that every pupil can find a suitable course at all levels (the range of G.C.E. subjects can be much wider than in any grammar school). Salaries are commensurate with numbers, so that headships and posts of responsibility are the plums of the teaching profession. This, combined with the stimulus of working in an exciting new venture, has attracted men and women of great ability and personality into comprehensive schools, and contributed greatly to their success. The supposedly great disadvantage of comprehensive schools is that among so many pupils and teachers the individual is lost; but, by a carefully organized breaking down of the mass into smaller units of houses and tutorial groups, it is claimed that each pupil can have as much individual attention as in a small school, if indeed not more. Its greatest advantage is generally thought to be the ease with which the developing child can fit into a flexible organization. The comprehensive school rarely does away with selection at 11, but it does constantly review and, if necessary, change the classification.

For details about the different organization *Inside the Comprehensive School* should be consulted, but the following extract (p. 34) gives a good general picture:

“(a) Basically there is a common curriculum for all the forms in the first two or three years.

(b) In many cases syllabuses in individual subjects are common, but so designed that they can be explored at varying depth and by means of different approaches according to the ability and needs of particular groups.

(c) In order that each child shall work at his own optimum pace, certain subjects are taught in subject ability ‘sets’ which cut across the form organization. Usually subjects are ‘setted’ across blocks of some three forms according to the availability of staff. Subjects most frequently ‘setted’ are English, Mathematics, the Sciences, and Languages.

(d) In some cases children who are graded by ability in most of their academic work are re-arranged on a house basis for Games, Art, Music, Handicrafts, so that they mix on a wider basis with the children of their year.”

(c) Efficiency

These large schools are nearly all so new that it is not yet possible to estimate their efficiency, even by the crude yardstick of external examinations; the social consequences will be even longer in becoming apparent. In 1958 the Director of Education for Cardiff investigated the working of comprehensive schools under four authorities in order to advise his committee about their future plans. He found that advantages were claimed for all pupils in having contact with fellow-pupils of very different ability, but found no evidence that standards of work were any higher than those in other good schools, whether grammar or modern. Though negative, this is a partial answer to those who claim that the progress of the ablest must be retarded by attention given to the average or less than average—"curdling the cream to cuddle the clots"; as one opponent of comprehensive schools unkindly put it. If this is thought to be "damning with faint praise", a more enthusiastic but solid picture is given in Mrs. Chetwynd's account of her four years as Headmistress of Woodberry Down.

The Public School*(a) Definition*

It is impossible to find any accepted definition of a public school. The Public Schools Act of 1868 named only nine: Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, and Shrewsbury; but the term is of much wider application. Sometimes they are thought of as boarding schools, but some of the above nine are either day schools or admit day boys, and there are many boarding schools which are not public schools. Another yardstick is held to be the head's membership of the Headmasters' Conference, an exclusive body of about 200 headmasters which admits new members by invitation only; but some of the Headmasters' Conference Schools are not public schools in the popular connotation of the term. The situation is further complicated by the existence of girls' public schools. On the whole it would be best in this section to consider independent schools, that is schools supported almost entirely by endowments and school fees, and almost independent of control from outside. Like the comprehensive schools they owe their present position largely to social pressures. Just as

the one receives most support from a political philosophy which desires a classless society and a large measure of State concern in the life of the citizen, so the other is warmly defended and supported by a political philosophy which values traditional distinctions and resents what it calls "interference" with the rights of individuals.

(b) *Development*

Some public schools are of very ancient foundation, dating back to Saxon times; others were founded in close connection with cathedrals or colleges in the later Middle Ages, and many more in the reigns of Edward VI and Elizabeth I. These were intended for all classes, hence the origin of the term "public", which is so paradoxical to-day. In 1540 Cranmer said of King's School, Canterbury:

"Poor men's children are many times endowed with more singular gifts of nature which are also the gifts of God . . . and also commonly more apt to apply their study than is the gentleman's son, delicately nurtured. Wherefore if a gentleman's son be apt to learning, let him be admitted; if not, let the poor man's child that is apt enter his room."

The tendency for public schools to confine their admission to the sons of gentlemen or prosperous businessmen strengthened during the nineteenth century, which saw the birth of many new public schools to educate the sons of the new rich. It was at this time, too, that new standards of work and behaviour were set, especially by Thomas Arnold of Rugby (see *Tom Brown's Schooldays*.) To-day there are comparatively few free places in such schools, in spite of the Fleming Report which advocated a wider social basis of selection; and even a minor public school charges £300 a year and upwards for board and tuition.

(c) *Description*

Entrance to public school is usually at the age of 13, following a five or six years' Preparatory School course, and by means of the Common Entrance Examination. The entrance standard is high: money alone cannot buy a place in a good public school. The subjects taught are much the same as in grammar schools, except that classical languages still occupy an exceptionally important part of the time, though with the great expansion of science laboratories, subsidized by private industry, science is now challenging the former supremacy

of the classics. The special features of public school education arise from a background where masters and boys live together for months on end: there is more stress on games, outdoor activities, the creative arts, and scouting or Cadet Forces; and religious and moral training is mostly that which serious-minded parents would desire to give their sons at home, or better, since there are daily services in chapel, often of great beauty and power. Some of the necessary organization of a boarding school has been imitated in day schools, though with varying success because it is more artificial, e.g. in the house system, and prefects. The boys in public schools usually live in Houses, under Housemasters, whose influence and powers are considerably more than any assistant master has in a day school. Senior boys largely control the internal discipline, and prefects often have powers, privileges, and responsibilities which are unheard of in day schools.

The result of four or five years' living in such a highly disciplined community, in intimate daily contact with highly intelligent and scholarly masters and fellow-pupils drawn almost entirely from middle and upper-class society, often in surroundings of great dignity and beauty, and permeated by traditional standards of morality and duty, is to produce an easily recognizable type of young man, who, even in these democratic days, soon wins a leading position, by merit more often than by the influence of family connection or the "old school tie". The type is easily caricatured and satirized, but the increasing demand for such education in spite of rising fees and in spite of great improvements in free education in State-maintained schools, is perhaps the best answer to criticism.

Few teachers would wish to see public schools swept away while their standards of scholarship remain so high and appear to be achieved without the strain that so often accompanies high academic achievement in State-maintained day schools. Even the political party that advocates their abolition as a measure of social justice was almost equally divided at its 1959 Blackpool Conference, and it was a Socialist Minister of Education who in 1947 wrote:

"Until education in the State secondary schools is as good as the best money can buy outside the State system, so long will inequalities remain. For that matter, even when that end has been achieved, if people prefer to pay high fees for education less good, or no better, than that which the State provides free of charge to its rate-payers, there is certainly no reason, in a

free country, why they should not spend their money in that way. Variety in education is a needed spice."

Further book references:

A Short History of English Education from 1760 to 1944. H. C. Barnard. (University of London Press. 21s.)

Comprehensive Education: A New Approach. R. Tedley. (Gollancz. 13s. 6d.)

Inside the Comprehensive School. A symposium. (The Schoolmaster Publishing Co. Ltd., Hamilton House, Hastings Street, W.C.1. 12s. 6d.)

Comprehensive School: The Story of Woodberry Down. H. R. Chetwynd. (Routledge and Kegan Paul. 18s.)

The Character of England. Ed. Barker. (Oxford University Press.) Section on education. (From a library).

No one reference is given for public schools. The most useful reference is the beautiful series in *The Illustrated London News* called "The Education of British Youth", found in issues at intervals during 1958-59-60, and featuring over 50 such schools for boys and girls, in this country and in the Commonwealth.

(c) EDUCATION FOR MASS CULTURE

The few or the many

In the last study two different conceptions of education were reviewed: one comprehensive and the other exclusive; one designed to educate all the future citizens of one area in one school, the other designed to collect the future leaders of the nation into a comparatively few schools and give them a different kind of education from the education of the masses. Until fairly recently it has been accepted by educated people that there must always be a small minority of thinkers or cultivated persons, and that for the majority anything resembling the kind of secondary education outlined above is impracticable. Plato imagined his ideal state as ruled by such an educated minority. Over two hundred years ago, Adam Smith wrote:

"In opulent and commercial societies, to think or to reason comes to be, like every other employment, a particular business, which is carried on by a very few people, who furnish the public with all the thought and reason possessed by the vast multitudes that labour."

More than a century ago the "Utilitarian" philosophers reinforced this idea of inequality in education by seeing education merely as a training to fit men for the particular tasks that they were required to do. In our own time the idea has been supported by such powerful advocates as Clive Bell, T. S. Eliot, and F. R. Leavis, who all fear that levelling must necessarily be levelling down to mediocrity, and that a small educated minority is necessary to set and maintain standards. Formerly the minority was an élite of birth or wealth; nowadays it is thought of as an élite of ability and education. Against such conceptions of society is the emerging philosophy of education which claims that the minority can be greatly expanded, and that the majority are capable of profiting from a type of education which was formerly the prerogative of a few.

For discussion:

What proportion of the population do you think capable of benefiting from a college or university education?

Mass culture

The term "mass culture" is a new expression, used in a derogatory sense to describe our present way of living. Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society 1780-1950* is an illuminating study of the development of the idea of "culture". At first it meant looking after the natural growth of something, as for example the culture of tomatoes or chrysanthemums. Then it was extended to the development of the human mind, especially its higher faculties. As a reaction from the increasing industrialization of the nineteenth century, the word "culture" next came to mean not only the development of the higher faculties in general, but more specifically the artistic faculty, a knowledge and appreciation of literature, painting, sculpture, music, etc. In our own generation "culture" has been used to mean an entire way of life, including not only an appreciation of the arts, but also the way in which a people earns its living, is governed, spends its leisure, and reacts to all the circumstances of life. This is the sense in which anthropologists speak of primitive "cultures". The word "mass" has increasingly come to be the modern equivalent of "mob", as in the "masses", "mass-civilization", "mass-production", "mass-democracy", "mass-communication", and "mass-media" (see Sections II, IV, and IX).

To call our way of life "mass-culture" may therefore imply a criticism of it. "Mass-culture" implies not only that

we live in large communities, that many of us earn our living in similar ways, that many of us read the same newspapers and look at the same television programmes, and that we live rather similar lives, but also that this levelling and assimilation are bad. A "mass-culture" is, it implies, an inferior way of life. The term "culture" can also be used in the older sense, the development of the higher faculties of the human mind, especially artistic sensibility. "Mass-culture" in this sense comes to mean a cheap popularization of intellectual and artistic pleasures: "Music for You", *Readers' Digest*, public museums and art galleries, brains trusts, and the like. One of the problems facing us to-day is how to raise the quality of life by education in a "mass-culture" (in the first sense above) without the adulteration and cheapening that accompany "mass-culture" (in the second sense), the problem "of leading the unenlightened to the particular kind of light which the leaders find satisfactory for themselves."

The new illiteracy

There was a time when it was thought that to teach everyone to read and write would by itself raise the quality of our national life. It was not an unreasonable belief a hundred years ago, for the reading material available was largely such as would strengthen the reason and cultivate the mind if once a man or woman had enough education to be able to understand it, or sufficient desire to read it. What the advocates of compulsory education for all could not foresee was the extent to which commercial enterprise would exploit general literacy, first by supplying low-grade reading material for the newly-literate majority whose education had not gone far enough to enable them to read better literature, and secondly by capturing those whose education had equipped them for better things but whose natural mental laziness made them prefer the easy reading of the popular press (see Section IV). There is a tendency, known to economists as Gresham's Law, for debased coinage to drive out sound currency. Something similar seems to have happened with the supply of newspapers, magazines, and books, following the introduction of compulsory schooling in 1870. *Tit-Bits* and *Answers*, the easy-to-read periodicals, were followed by *The Daily Mail*, the easy-to-read newspaper. Their great commercial success compelled all popular journals to follow the same methods, until to-day there are very few national newspapers which require more

than an elementary training in reading to be understood. It is doubtful whether our national system of education has done much to improve the quality of the life of the spirit for the great majority through reading. The same is probably true of the appreciation of the arts, and of political, philosophical, or religious thinking, all of which collectively form what an older generation knew as culture.

This is not to attack compulsory national education. Much of the best in modern art and literature and music might not have emerged but for the existence of a numerically large public enabled to appreciate it by our national system. But, for the majority, this elementary education has brought the opportunity for culture rather than culture itself. It has produced also a new problem, a new kind of illiteracy. Though illiteracy, in the sense of not being able to read and write, is usually a mark of a backward civilization, yet to be illiterate is not necessarily to be uncultured, as our inheritance of crafts, folk music, ballads, folk-dancing, gardens, cottages, and landscape shows, since these things were the work of our cultivated but largely illiterate country ancestors. The Lynds in *Middletown*, George Bourne in *The Wheelwright's Shop*, and D. H. Lawrence in his novels about the Notts.-Derby mining areas, have written about the decay of the traditional "culture", or way of life, and its replacement by what they regard as an inferior "mass-culture". Merely to teach the 3 R's can be like stripping off the protective shell of illiteracy and exposing undeveloped minds to the influence of the popular press, modern advertising, and the kind of reading matter that is conveniently grouped in the circulating libraries into Westerns, Thrillers, Romance, Crime, and Science Fiction.

"Much that we judge to be bad is known to be bad by its producers. Ask any journalist, or any copywriter, if he will now accept that famous definition: 'written by morons for morons'. Will he not reply that in fact it is written by skilled and intelligent people for a public that hasn't the time, or hasn't the education, or hasn't, let's face it, the intelligence, to read anything more complete, anything more careful, anything nearer the known canons of exposition or argument? Had we not better say, for simplicity, anything good?" (Williams *op. cit.* page 305).

It is easy to be sentimental about the higher standards of literate people in the past compared with the low standards of to-day. There was cheap and unwholesome literature in

plenty before the 1870 Education Act made its supply even more profitable (see Section IV(a)). But to press the need for a more critical attitude on the part of the majority is not sentimentality. It is necessary, to arm the public against exploitation, and to raise the quality of our civilization by turning the public towards literature where the implied standards of behaviour, of values, of morality, are honestly presented, instead of towards reading-matter whose standards are those of the market, the music hall, or the political mass meeting.

For discussion:

Has reading brought you worth-while experiences that could not have been given in any other way?

Towards standards of criticism

Towards Standards of Criticism is the title of a work by F. R. Leavis published in 1933, and is restricted to "good criticism and intelligent discussion of literature". The same author's *For Continuity* has a more general theme—standards of living; and contains the germ of an idea for a constructive approach to the problem of improving standards of living by developing a more critical attitude to the written and spoken word which forms our standards. (By "standard of living" here we mean not the goods we possess or the material comforts we enjoy, but "the quality of life".) Out of it grew a school textbook, *Culture and Environment*, by F. R. Leavis and Denys Thompson, which was a pioneer work showing how a critical attitude could be developed, particularly in public schools and grammar schools. The kinds of emotional appeals in advertisements are analysed, the verbiage of professional politicians is put under the microscope, the meretricious appeal of commercially produced reading material is exposed by contrast with the vitality and sincerity of real literature. The book is still much used (its influence was the subject of a long article in the "New Statesman and Nation", March 26th, 1960), and has been widely followed. The method could be greatly extended to cover the other widespread means of influencing our thinking and feeling, e.g. popular art, popular music, broadcasting, the cinema, and television. "That deliberate exploitation of the cheap response which characterizes our civilization" requires an equally deliberate culture of the mind against certain aspects of our environment. There can be no return to the traditional civilization of the

small town or the rural community for most of us. To produce a mass-culture that is neither debased nor vulgarian is not entirely a matter of education, but we cannot rest satisfied until education has done a great deal more to extend not only the ability to read but also the ability to appreciate the power of the written or spoken word to stimulate our intellect or our feeling, and to discriminate between the good and the second-rate. Those already receiving this kind of training can receive it for a longer period at school or university, and their numbers can be greatly increased. This ought to be one of the principal aims of "Secondary Education for All" when the nation is willing to foot the bill for it.

For discussion:

Do you think that good art can be enjoyed by the great majority?

"Where Ignorance is Bliss"

"Where Ignorance is Bliss, 'Tis Folly to be Wise", wrote Thomas Gray. It is arguable that it is wrong to try to destroy the happiness which comes from an unthinking acceptance by the people of the standards of our civilization. In other ages and places such an argument might have been more acceptable (perhaps in the England of Shakespeare, or in the England of Gray's "Elegy") than it is to-day, since the ignorance of the masses was only an ignorance of the written word: they did not lack culture. But our whole way of life is so different from theirs that the risk of causing great unhappiness by educating our future citizens to be dissatisfied with their present environment—"A Candy-Floss World" with "Sex in Shiny Packets"—has to be taken if the quality of our national life is to be raised. The quotations in the last sentence are from chapter-headings in Richard Hoggart's sympathetic and exciting study of working class culture in Northern England, *The Uses of Literacy*. Chapter 10, "A Note on the Uprooted and the Anxious", examines the tensions which come when working class children are educated beyond the culture of their families and their neighbours.

Education and living

In the first of these three studies it was pointed out that although, legally, secondary education means education to fifteen or beyond, the popular meaning is a higher kind of

education, the kind formerly available only to selective schools. Such education is often thought of merely as a utilitarian training in mathematics, science, foreign languages, etc. The danger of educating a part of the mind instead of the whole personality, of "the unmitigated exercise of the calculating faculty" (Shelley), has often been stressed by writers and by none more effectively than Coleridge, who pointed to "the permanent distinction and the occasional contrast between cultivation and civilization—a nation can never be *too* cultivated, but may easily become an over-civilized race". (By civilization he means material progress only.)

"Civilization is itself but a mixed good, if not far more a corrupting influence . . . where this civilization is not grounded in cultivation, in the harmonious development of those qualities and faculties that characterize our humanity."

Carlyle writes in the same vein:

"My opinion is this: that deep thinking is attainable only by a man of deep feeling, and that all truth is a species of revelation . . . An irreverent knowledge is no knowledge; may be a development of the logical or other handicraft faculty inward or outward; but is no culture of the soul of a man."

Education which is designed merely to raise the material standard of life is only a kind of utilitarian vocational training even when it is pursued to university level; it is only a part of the education which is necessary to improve the quality of living. Mass-culture need not be the shoddy substitute for real life which our century is making it. The right kind of "Secondary Education for All" which could keep material improvements based on technological advances, mass production, and commercialism, without sacrificing the good taste, independent judgement, and inner freedom of individuals, is still in the future, but there are hopeful signs that it will come.

For discussion:

What do you regard as the essentials of a "good" education?

Further book references:

Culture and Society 1780-1950. Raymond Williams. (Chatto & Windus. 30s.)

The Uses of Literacy. Richard Hoggart. (Penguin Books. 4s.)

Culture and Environment. F. R. Leavis and D. Thompson. (Chatto & Windus. 7s. 6d.)

For Continuity. F. R. Leavis. (Minority Press. Out of print, but available from libraries.)

Section VIII

The Book of Job**THE PROBLEM OF SUFFERING**

NOTES BY GLADYS R. PUNCHARD

Do people matter? This question arises when one is faced with the problem of undeserved suffering. This problem tortured the soul of Job, whose agony—both physical and spiritual—is the theme of one of the greatest poems in literature, ancient or modern.

Books useful for these studies are mentioned at the end of the notes.

(a) JOB AND HIS FRIENDS**The structure of the book**

The book falls into two distinct parts: the *legend* of Job, consisting of prologue and epilogue, both in prose form; and the *poem*, containing the argument between Job and his friends, and the final intervention of God.

The legend of Job

It is now widely accepted that the story of Job was taken from an old legend dating from the early history of the Jews. The author of the poem, however, wished to discuss certain problems of the relation of God to man and this legend gave him a framework. Here was a man of great substance, of undoubted integrity, held in great respect by all his neighbours, "the greatest of all the children of the East" (Job 1. 3), who not only loses the whole of his family and property, but suddenly becomes the victim of a loathsome disease, probably leprosy, since we find him sitting "among the ashes" outside the city gates, isolated from his fellows.

The poem

The author of the Book of Job takes this setting for his own dramatic poem in which his characters—Job, his three friends, and Elihu (see later)—argue at great length the world-wide problems of suffering, of God's government of the universe and the relation of God to man. He concludes his poem with the intervention of God Himself.

The epilogue is part of the old legend; in it Job is finally restored to his former prosperity and prestige.

The author

It is generally recognized that the date of this book is uncertain, the most likely one being approximately 400 B.C. Little is known of the author other than what can be gleaned from the poem itself. It is assumed that he was a Jew, living probably in South Judaea on the edge of the wilderness, loving freedom and familiar with the wild life of the desert. A man of strong feeling, he had obviously known something of a baffling search for God, and the agony of such an experience.

Authorship and date, however, are unimportant. This is a human document. It rings true to-day, and, in a very real sense, it belongs as much to the present age as to the age in the distant past when it first appeared.

Reading the Book of Job

Members might find it helpful to read this book from Moulton's *Modern Reader's Bible* in so far as it is there set out in dramatic form. They are advised, however, not to allow themselves to be frustrated by difficult passages, about which even the best commentators disagree, but to try to get the general sense of the argument throughout the poem, irrespective of detail.

Some textual problems

The poem contains three cycles of speeches by the three friends in answer to the curse with which Job opens the argument:

"Let the day perish wherein I was born,
And the night which said, There is a man-child conceived."
(3. 3.)

Job answers each friend in turn; but in the third cycle there is some doubt as to the speaker in each case; for

though Eliphaz makes a third lengthy contribution (Chap. 22) followed by Job (23 and 24), Bildad makes a much briefer comment and Zophar is ignored. Commentators, however, have reconstructed chapters 25-27 thus: (See *Modern Reader's Bible*)

Bildad—25; and 26. 5-14.

Job—26. 1-4 and 27. 1-6.

Zophar—27. 7-23.

Job—29, 30, 31.

The "Wisdom" poem

Chapter 28, commonly known as the "Wisdom" poem, is regarded by most scholars as a later addition. Both Moulton and Phillips, however, put these words also into the mouth of Zophar.

Job and his friends

Look for a moment at the three friends—Job's so-called "comforters". All three represent the orthodox Jewish belief that suffering is God's punishment for sin.

This theory is presented first by *Eliphaz*, an "aged" man, much older than Job's father. He is a mystic and claims the authority of revelation:

"A spirit passed before my face:

.....
There was silence, and I heard a voice, saying,
Shall mortal man be more just than God?
Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?" (4. 14-17.)

Most writers regard Eliphaz as sympathetic and even tender in his approach to Job; others see in him a dictatorial manner, an "irritating air of superiority."

Bildad is the scholar, the traditionalist, who appeals to the authority of the past to support the orthodox belief:

"For enquire, I pray thee, of the former age,
And apply thyself to that which their fathers have searched out:
.....
Shall not they teach thee and tell thee,
The hope of the godless man shall perish." (8. 8-13.)

Zophar is described by Wheeler Robinson as the "man-in-the-street", blunt and forthright:

"Know therefore that God exacteth of thee
Less than thine iniquity deserveth." (11. 6.)

While several critics regard him as of "coarser grain" than either of the others, both Moulton and Phillips put into his mouth the "Wisdom" poem.

For discussion:

What would be your assessment of the character of these three friends?

The role of Elihu

There is another character who appears in this drama—a young man who claims that he has hesitated to speak in the presence of his elders:

"I am young, and ye are very old; wherefore I held back,
And durst not show you mine opinion.
I said, Days should speak,
And multitude of years should teach wisdom." (32. 6-7.)

Nevertheless, having come to the conclusion that "there was none that convinced Job," he proceeded to express his own views in a lengthy speech (chapters 32 to 37). Can you hear the modern youth speaking?

Most scholars are convinced that these chapters are a later addition to the poem, probably added by someone who was shocked by Job's blasphemy and was anxious to satisfy the orthodox of his day. Phillips, however, regards Elihu's speech as essential to the discussion because he brings to light Job's besetting sin of self-sufficiency.

God's answer (Chapters 38 to 41)

(For the substance of this, see next study.)

Here again are two passages which scholars consider to be later additions: the descriptions of the two beasts, the "Behemoth" or hippopotamus, and the "Leviathan" or crocodile. (Chapters 40. 15-41. 34.)

Phillips again regards these passages as essential in so far as they emphasize the immense power of God—the key, he considered, to Job's problem. "He must be brought face to face with a Power infinitely greater than he could ever hope to be," in the presence of which he was humbled.

The epilogue

It is suggested that the epilogue must also be a later addition because it supports the doctrine against which Job

has made such a passionate protest. In the epilogue he receives what has been called a "vulgar compensation", and the old doctrine of the prosperity of the righteous is re-affirmed. There is, however, another aspect of this question. The poet was using an old legend as the framework of his poem and was therefore, to a certain extent, bound by the substance of the legend.

"It is very much as if a modern poet, wishing to write on the theme of the rise of the humble and the fall of the mighty, were to take the story of Cinderella as his setting" (Hanson).

Wheeler Robinson remarks that the epilogue does indeed read like a child's tale and

"we can hardly help a smile at the quaint narrative of friendly calls and family festivals and congratulatory gifts . . . We would rather have left Job on his dung heap, with faith shining more brightly against the background of his misfortune."

This would probably be the modern reaction, but both Wheeler Robinson and Peake go on to point out that, since to ancient readers Job could not find justification beyond the grave, if the ways of Providence were to be justified at all it must be in his lifetime.

The assumption is that, having concluded his own argument in the poem, the author of the Book of Job reverts to the legend for the closing scene in the prose epilogue. "He has chosen to express the restoration in the terms of the legend, and this is the language of legend" (Hanson). Whether such a solution is realistic can be discussed later.

Further questions for discussion:

1. Are Job's friends familiar to you in everyday life?
2. What is your own reaction to the suggestion that the restoration of Job's fortunes is "a vulgar compensation?"

(b) JOB'S DILEMMA

In the introduction to this Handbook the problem of suffering is described as "bewildering and baffling to the little man". Does the experience of Job help us? Is there an answer acceptable to the modern mind?

Job's search for truth

Faced by Job's experience—the loss of family, property and prestige, and the pain caused by a repulsive disease—the first reaction to-day would most probably be to question the very *existence* of God. It should be noted, however, at the outset that at no moment during his terrible experience did Job question God's existence. He was rather preoccupied with the *nature* of the Almighty. Neither Job nor his friends doubted the Divine omnipotence. Few poems, ancient or modern, can rival the Book of Job in the beauty of language and the dignity of expression in which the majesty of God is revealed.

But throughout the poem we follow the desperate search of a soul in spiritual agony trying to reconcile his conception of an all-powerful God with the experience of wholly undeserved suffering. This was Job's dilemma—not whether God existed at all, but whether His omnipotence could be reconciled with the idea of justice. T. H. Robinson stresses Job's "stark passion for truth at all costs". Hear Job's cry:

"Though he slay me, yet will I wait for Him. (13. 15.)

"Oh that I knew where I might find Him. (23. 3.)

He wishes that there were a "daysman" to whom he might present his case and who might arbitrate in the dispute between himself and God (9. 33). (With the word "daysman" compare the Scandinavian term "Ombudsman").

Job the rebel

The Jews associated suffering with sin. This was the orthodox belief expressed so forcefully by Job's three friends and reflected in the question put to Jesus centuries later: "Master, who did sin, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" (John 9. 2.) In his first speech Eliphaz says:

"Remember, I pray thee, who ever perished, being innocent?

Or where were the upright cut off?

According as I have seen, they that plow iniquity,

And sow trouble, reap the same,

By the breath of God they perish,

And by the blast of his anger are they consumed." (4. 7-9.)

Job, however, makes a passionate protest against this theory. He was not aware of having sinned. The suffering he was experiencing was out of all proportion to any minor

faults of which he might be guilty. Again and again he asserts his blamelessness.

"I am as one that is a laughing-stock to his neighbour,
A man that called upon God, and He answered him:
The just, the perfect man is a laughing-stock." (12. 4.)

And again:

"I know that I am righteous." (13. 18.)

Further, turning from his own suffering, he reminds his friends of the obvious prosperity of the wicked:

"Wherefore do the wicked live,
Become old, yea, wax mighty in power?
Their seed is established with them in their sight,
And their offspring before their eyes.
Their houses are safe from fear,
Neither is the rod of God upon them." (21. 7-9.)

Read on to verse 15.

Thus Job reminds them that this is not merely an individual problem; it is a universal one. The wicked *do* prosper, and the righteous *do* suffer. The facts of experience *do not* bear out the theory propounded by them, and his soul revolts at their easy acceptance of the popular theory of their time.

"Miserable comforters are ye all.

.....
If your soul were in my soul's stead,
I could join words together against you,

.....
But I would strengthen you with my mouth,
And the solace of my lips should assuage your grief. (16. 2-5).

The "patience" of Job

The name of Job has become proverbial for the quality of his patience, but is Job in fact patient? Can we reconcile the conception of a patient Job accepting both good and evil at the hand of the Lord (see the Prologue) with Job the rebel protesting violently against the treatment he has received at God's hands, questioning the moral government of His universe, pleading for an answer to the question as to why he was born, as to why the God who had created him had seemingly made a plaything of His own creation. Read chapter 10. 3-9.

"Is it good unto thee that thou shouldest oppress,
That thou shouldest despise the work of thine hands
And shine upon the counsel of the wicked ?

.....
Thine hands have framed me and fashioned me
... yet thou dost destroy me."

Patience? Perhaps so in the persistence of his search for a solution. His is not a passive acceptance of the will of God; *he must understand that will.*

Offset against what appears to be an "irresponsible tyrant animated by petty spite to torture the helpless" (Peake), he has memories of a Being with whom he had enjoyed a deep fellowship in the days before misfortune beset him, and in the midst of his rebellion he appeals to this God against the scorn of his friends.

"My friends scorn me
But mine eye poureth out tears unto God." (16. 20.)

And in the midst of all his torture that well-known cry rings out:

"I know that my Redeemer (i.e. the vindicator of my innocence) liveth." (19. 25.)

The self-righteousness of Job?

Is Job's besetting sin that of self-righteousness? Elihu claims that it is, but is there evidence in Job's speeches of spiritual pride? See chapters 29 and 31. Early commentators, quoted by Peake, suggest that, though Job was completely unaware of this trait in his character, his sufferings were designed to bring it to light. Peake himself, while realizing Job's "self-centredness", does not support this view, resting as it does mainly on the acceptance of Elihu's speeches as authentic.

Job, however, cannot find God.

"Behold I go forward, but He is not there;
And backward, but I cannot perceive Him." (23. 8.)

Is it possible that Job could not find God because his preoccupation with his own virtues blinded him to His presence? If we wear coloured glasses, all appears coloured. We see what is in our own minds. Was humility Job's greatest need?

God speaks (Chapters 38 to 41)

Out of the whirlwind came a Voice, and Job's search was ended. Job had thought of God as majestic and all powerful,

"Which doeth great things past finding out;
Yea, marvellous things without number." (9. 10.)

"With Him is wisdom and might,
He hath counsel and understanding." (12. 13.)

But he had *not* thought of him as *accessible*. Here, however, in the Divine speeches, says Moulton, "we have an *Infinite Sympathy*. Omniscience, omnipotence, omnipresence are of course implied; but what is made prominent is an all-pervasive sympathy, embracing the vastnesses that strain the imagination, but penetrating also to the smallest things"—the search of the raven for food, the goats and hinds with their young, the stupid ostrich who leaves her eggs where "the foot may crush them". (See chapters 38 and 39.)

There is also a challenge to Job's self-sufficiency in these speeches:

"Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?
Declare if thou hast understanding? (38. 4.)

.....
Hast thou comprehended the breadth of the earth?
Declare if thou knowest it all." (38. 18.)

and finally:

"Wilt thou condemn me that thou mayest be justified?"
(40. 8.)

Job's pride in his own integrity is shattered and he confesses his ignorance:

"Therefore have I uttered that which I understood not,
Things too wonderful for me, which I knew not.
I had heard of thee by the hearing of the ear;
But now mine eye seeth Thee,
Wherefore I abhor myself, and repent
In dust and ashes." (42. 3-6.)

Here is a new Job: humble but not insignificant in God's sight, conscious of restored fellowship with Him. Having seen God, he was *no longer overwhelmed* by his problem.

The answer?

Is there an answer to this problem of suffering? No mention is made of it, either in the speech "out of the whirlwind" or in the epilogue. Job's material possessions are restored, he even has a new family (according to the legend), but no reference is made to his physical suffering.

Peake says that there could be no explanation given because "it is imperative that Job should be left in ignorance at the end, since the lesson he learns is just this—that he must *trust* God, even if he does not understand the reason for his action". But Peake was writing in 1904. Wheeler Robinson, writing in 1916 and reaffirming his views in 1937, asserts that throughout it is the will of God that is being done; and that the divine purpose of Job's suffering is "to prove that disinterested religion is a reality"; and that the Book of Job proves that man can hold on to God, not for what he gains, but "for Himself".

Will either of these theories satisfy the modern man who so often regards this problem of innocent suffering as one of the chief obstacles to religious faith?

In the light that modern psychiatry throws on the problems of disease, is it fantastic to believe that with the easing of mental strain which Job experienced on finding God, his physical condition also improved? From his own descriptions we understand that he suffered from a most painful and loathsome skin disease so often equated in modern psychology with an anxiety complex, which in modern parlance could have been caused by his previous experiences of the loss of everything that he considered of value in life. (See Section XVII, "*Towards the relief of Suffering.*")

Mary Baker Eddy, in her study of spiritual healing, writes: "It is our ignorance of God, the Divine Principle, which produces apparent discord, and the right understanding of Him restores harmony." (*Science and Health*).

Was this Job's experience?

Questions for discussion:

1. Do you consider that the problem of innocent suffering is both inevitable and inexplicable?
2. Do you agree with Wheeler Robinson's view of the purpose of this book?
3. Does the Book of Job help you to appreciate how undeserved suffering may be borne?

Books for reference:

Job and His Friends. T. H. Robinson. (S.C.M. 1954. O.P.)

The Cross of Job. H. Wheeler Robinson. (Reprinted in *The Cross in the Old Testament*. S.C.M. 1955. 10s. 6d.)

Job: A New Interpretation. T. W. Phillips. (Allen & Unwin. 1937. 1s. 6d.)

The Book of Job. A. and M. Hanson. (S.C.M. 1953. 7s. 6d.)

Job. A. S. Peake. (The Century Bible. 1904. O.P.)

The Modern Reader's Bible. R. G. Moulton. (Macmillan. 1907.

From a library)

Section IX

Television

("The Fifth Estate of the Realm")

NOTES BY WILFRID H. LEIGHTON

Immense numbers of people to-day are influenced, for good or ill, by the television screen. A book with the title of the present one must take account of this powerful agency.

(a) APPEAL AND PROVISION

The power of the picture

The gateways to knowledge are the five senses, of which sight is an important one. Education, however, comes through reason, judgement, imagination and growth in sensitivity, and personality is developed by responsibility and creativeness. To-day education is the concern of the community and to be educated the aim for every individual. Our age has rediscovered the powerful appeal of the picture as an aid to knowledge and also to understanding. The visual image, of course, is as old and universal as human history. Man probably drew pictures before he spoke, and every civilization has had and still has its share of the visual arts—painting, sculpture, architecture, drama, the stained-glass window, tapestry, mural decoration, illuminated texts and the sacred symbol. To-day we have the photograph and other aids—maps, diagrams, charts, films, cartoons, advertisements, and now television.

The impact of television

This is an age in which the individual is thought of, in so far as he is thought of at all, as one of the mass and as part of a mass culture which is fed by advertising, popular newspapers, glossy magazines, and films. Modern man, and

and especially modern woman, is being manipulated by the mass media, and of these television is one of the most powerful.

Consider the following:

"The cinema is in decline, and it is now television which brings the image into the home and provides mass audiences of unprecedented dimensions. It is a very recent development, but it has captured the nation. Although the first television demonstration was given by J. L. Baird in 1926, in Soho, London, and the B.B.C.'s Alexandra Palace Station was opened in 1936, it was not until after the end of the war that it became a dominating feature of modern mass culture. A total of 21,000 licences were issued in 1947, but this figure now seems archaic. Since 1955 the B.B.C. has ceased to have a monopoly in this medium, and I.T.V. programmes compete with it in most parts of the country. As far as it is possible to judge at the present time I.T.V. is the culminating point of the development of twentieth-century commercialized mass culture. It depends on advertising, thereby clearly demonstrating the link between the mass market for goods and the mass market for entertainment and to a limited extent ideas. It is backed by important sections of the popular press, and receives such publicity in the press that news of its personalities as well as its programmes—like news of film stars—is a staple item in our daily diet. It has its own comic strips, its own news service, its own scoops, and it has already helped to drive out of circulation one prominent picture magazine. It is the powerful ally of the gramophone record business, and can make or break so-called 'pop-music' at its will. So far, however, it has been subjected to far less intelligent and useful criticism than the cinema was in its golden age, and any attempts at criticism are often dismissed as 'contemptuous mandarinism'." (Asa Briggs. *Adult Education and Mass Culture*.)

The cinema has undoubtedly been hit by television, but there is no indication of falling sales of newspapers or a diminution in the reading of books; on the contrary, newspapers constantly report increases, and public libraries are used more than ever for all kinds of books, whilst magazines have in the main held their own and even increased their circulation.

Effect on the theatre

TV has had an adverse effect on the live theatre. The Arts Council in its annual report for 1958-59, entitled *Struggle for Survival*, points out that people are staying away in increasing numbers from the living theatre. This is attributed to TV

which can present the "stars" to millions in their own homes. The report also complains of the exhaustion of dramatic art and the fact that TV does little to stimulate it. It is stated that, although the TV companies pay liberal fees to the arts and the artists they hire, "they make no contribution to what may be called the prime costs of the arts they diffuse", out of "the millions of profit" they make. It adds: "When colour television comes it will no doubt be a consumer of the product of our art galleries and art schools." The Arts Council speaks its mind and its point of view commands respect, but it may well be that TV will stimulate an increased interest both in the living theatre and in the fine arts. The screen can never take the place of flesh and blood any more than a reproduction can that of a work of art. The theatre has survived similar challenges, e.g. by cinema and radio, and there are indications that the live theatre is by no means dead. The Mermaid in London, the Belgrade in Coventry and the Little Theatre Guild, an amateur movement, are all cases in point.

The providers

At present TV programmes are divided between the B.B.C. and the I.T.A. The B.B.C. produces its own programmes, and owns and operates its studios and its transmitting stations. It is financed from the sale of combined sound and television receiver licences. The current licence fee is £4 per annum, of which £1 is excise duty. Until recently 12½ per cent. was retained by the Treasury. In 1958-59 the B.B.C. received £27,000,000, of which £14,000,000 was spent on Television. To meet the competition of I.T.A. the Corporation in 1959 asked for, and was granted, a reduction of 5½ per cent. in the levy.

In 1954 the Government passed the TV Act which authorized the setting up of an Independent TV authority, and this came into operation in July, 1955; it will last until July, 1964. The I.T.A. programmes are financed by advertising revenue provided by "spot" announcements sandwiched in the transmissions. The I.T.A. rents its facilities to private companies designated as "contractors", who are independent of each other and who sell time and space to advertisers. These range from a fifteen second "spot" for £45 between the hours of two and five, to £800 for a minute "spot" between seven p.m. and midnight. These rates have recently been in-

creased. The Act limits the time allowed for adverts. to no more than eight minutes in any one hour, with a daily average of six minutes per hour, and states that advertisements should be inserted only at the beginning or the end of a programme or at a natural break. Immense profits are being made by the various "contractors". Associated Television, to take but one example, with a capital of £2,225,000, made a profit before tax of £6,316,000 in 1958-59, and declared a 100 per cent. dividend. (See *The Economist* for 1st August, 1959).

Both B.B.C. and I.T.A. transmit in monochrome, i.e. black and white. Experiments are being made in colour and when this comes it may be accompanied by use of a higher definition. At present this is 405 lines; it may be raised to 625, which is better and would bring British transmission into step with most other countries. On 31st March, 1950 the number of television licences was 343,882; on the same date in 1955 it was 4,503,766; in 1960 it was 10,646,938 (see Annual Report of the B.B.C. 1959-60, H.M.S.O.).

A third channel is being considered. What function should this cover? One suggestion is that it should take the form of a Television Third Programme under the B.B.C. What do you think.

The viewers

About three-quarters of the British people are regular viewers. Those who do not possess sets are generally keen to "look in" when they have the chance. If people do not go to the cinema as much as formerly, and if the live theatre is not being so well supported, presumably it is because the family is gathered regularly before the box in the corner. For how long? If you have a set, how many hours a week do you "view"? Try and do a bit of research in your area on time spent by various age groups.

Children are naturally attracted to television, and there are excellent programmes for them on both channels, but especially on the B.B.C. which has a good record on sound too. Consider this quotation from the Nuffield Foundation's "Television and the Child", an empirical study of the effect of television on the young by Hilde T. Himmelweit, A. N. Oppenheim and Pamela Vince.

"The interviews with the children suggest that part of television's appeal lies in its easy availability and its consequent value as a time filler.

Television offers the satisfaction of being in the know, of going behind the scenes and of learning about the world and about people. On the emotional side, television appeals in different ways to different children. It offers security and reassurance through the familiar format and themes of many of its programmes, notably the family serials and the Westerns. It offers constant change, excitement, and suspense. It provides escape from everyday demands . . . and permits the child to identify himself with different romantic heroes."

Probably the age group 16-22 is the least interested in TV, for obvious reasons, and therefore the least influenced. Middle age carries its own responsibilities and interests outside the home, and it is in the late evening and at weekends that this group gives most time to viewing.

To the elderly and the house-bound TV can be a boon. On the whole the less educated and the less gifted view more than the well educated and the more gifted. There is no real substitute for reading, and reading is the natural habit of the educated. The middle classes seem to use TV as much as do the manual workers, and in all too many homes the television set is left on all the evening, as the radio is left on all day—with the obvious inconvenience to conversation, reading, and children's home-work.

What people want

Many seek light entertainment and eschew the serious in any form. On the other hand a great many people have interests as widely different as gardening and the structure of the atom. TV can be a medium of information and instruction and so can play a part in both formal and informal education. Kenneth Adam, B.B.C. Controller of TV Programmes, in *Television: Responsibility and Response* (National Institute of Adult Education. 2s.) said:

"What do I see as the aim and purpose of television in the service of informal education? I believe in viewers as individuals, not as a mass. . . I seek not to persuade but to stimulate, not to dictate tastes but to deploy them. . . We in the B.B.C. try to serve all the people some of the time, rather than some of the people all the time."

That I.T.A. too is concerned with informal education no one can deny.

"I am one of those who think that drama is a more potent influence than documentary or news programmes, simply

because it puts an interpretation on facts which at least makes us look at our own interpretations. Plays and films—stories about human behaviour—get under our skins, get past our conventional defences, and bring into our fanciful lives things which we keep out of our real lives. If anything will change our values it is drama, and it is upon drama that we should concentrate our most critical attention." (Noel Stevenson, Programmes Administration Officer, I.T.A.)

This may well be true, but our critical faculties are needed for every programme. To be critical and constructive is always difficult, but it is part of our responsibility as viewers. By so doing we learn to discriminate and to know what we want.

Questions for consideration:

1. How is the cinema meeting the challenge of TV?
2. Do you support the "live" theatre? If not, why not?
3. The danger of mass culture is in quantity rather than in quality. To say that people are reading more books than ever before means little in terms of quality. What dangers do you see in TV as a provider of quantity rather than of quality?
4. Should there be a third channel? If so, for what purpose?

(b) POSSIBILITIES AND PERILS

It is said that in our society class-consciousness and the class war—never a strong feature—are giving place to status consciousness. Money, prestige and meritocracy are taking the place of birth, breeding and democracy. If this is so, television not only expresses the change but is influencing it; it can be used most effectively by influential pressure groups to mould and manipulate large sections of the community.

Seeing the world in our homes

Formerly news of home and abroad came to us in newspapers, periodicals, books, radio and accounts given by travellers. Now we can *see* the world as we sit at home. An extra dimension is added to our understanding of personalities, places, scenes, situations and events—national and international. Industrial relations, racial tensions, political crises, international conferences, the unusual and the exceptional—all these are made more vivid when we not only hear about them but actually see them.

"By adding sight to sound, television has produced a more authentic image than that of radio. Its speakers appear not as public figures on public platforms or as voices from an imaginary studio, but as homely people speaking at your very fireside." (Joseph Trenaman. Granada Fellow, Television Research Unit, University of Leeds.)

A face-to-face relationship is established and any form of deception or disguise becomes more difficult. The danger is not that we do not see but that we do not understand what we see; pictures do not tell all.

Social significance

The social significance of television is seen in two ways: in its *universality* and its *objectivity*. Millions like us see and hear the same programmes. Isolated in our homes we are nevertheless part of a loose and unorganized mass; right across the diverse pattern of our society the same image is portrayed. The farm labourer, the docker, the miner, the engineer, the 'bus driver, the postman, the teacher, the clerk, the typist and the tycoon—all see the programmes. Ours is indeed the "open" society in which barriers of class and culture are being crossed. The policy of shaping a programme to "serve all the people some of the time rather than some of the people all the time" makes for comprehensions which demands intelligent discrimination if we are to make the best of what is offered. Our society is rich because it is diverse. Television enables all to see all, but if we do see all we may assimilate little and understand less. That television can present so much is both its strength and its weakness.

More than other mass media, television in this country has objectivity. Newspapers have a distinctive political and social "colour". The cinema is limited as a medium of social realism. TV has no axe to grind, and news and views are not slanted. A general election is an occasion for the main political parties to present their respective policies in the privacy of the home. A labour dispute is presented from both sides. A social problem is examined from all angles, and we are left to make up our minds. This is a contribution to democratic thinking and action. Such programmes as "To-night", "Panorama", "The Brains Trust", "The Small World" and "Monitor", and on ITV "The Week", whilst extending our knowledge and increasing our understanding, make demands upon our judgement.

Classlessness and values

Whilst our knowledge and understanding can be increased, there is a danger in accepting the tone, atmosphere, style, attitudes and conventional pattern of "the cultivated middle class" which television tends to promote. If we are becoming a classless society, the tendency is inevitably towards the middle. This may be the nature of democracy, but if it makes for uniformity democracy will die. For if democracy eschews extremes of wealth and poverty, it encourages the exceptional in expression and ability, and makes for rich diversity in unity. Our society needs individuality and non-conformity. These may find expression in education, religion, ways of life and even dialect which can enrich language. The everyday life of country folk is different from that of the city and town dweller. We need therefore to be on our guard against accepting what has been called a "tepid, flaccid, middle-brow culture that threatens to engulf everything in its spreading ooze". Genteel soporifics may smother the real values. There are issues in religion and politics which do not admit of compromise, so that the very objectivity of television could lead to a form of escapism, passive acceptance and an insulation from realities which are unpleasant and demand our judgement. Moreover a danger in a mass society is conformity because of group pressure; television may easily become an instrument of the mass mind.

The advertisers

The advertisers use the techniques of mass media to work on the susceptibilities of individuals. These hidden persuaders are the commercial sponsors of I.T.A., and their public is larger than any that can be reached by any other single medium. Judged by the amount of money spent and the profits made they must be very successful.

Consider the following:

"The first thing to notice is that the kinds of choices which advertisers have proved by experience to be susceptible to television all have two things in common. They are *superficial* choices between articles which are of common and *approved* use and of roughly comparable value and performance. Most important of these is that they are of *approved* use . . . The housewife can't go wrong whichever she buys. Swaying her choice is simply a question of attracting her attention one evening, so that when she goes shopping the next morning and sees the

article on the counter she will be persuaded to try it. If it isn't as good as expected, nothing will persuade her to try again for a long time . . . Only very ephemeral, whimsy and approved choices are affected easily by advertisement. Even more expensive things advertised, such as washers and refrigerators, the purchase of which demands more thought, are all articles in the general stream of *approved* purchases, for public opinion is in favour of housewives having washing-machines and refrigerators . . . The cardinal point about the success of television advertising is that it is persuading people to do things *which are in any case approved by their neighbours.*" (Noel Stevenson, Programmes Administration Officer, I.T.A.)

Questions for discussion:

1. How far do you think this sense of approval influences the potential purchaser?
2. What influences "public opinion" in its attitude to owning things?
3. How far does possession of things confer a sense of status?
4. From your experience of television, apart from the effects of advertising, in what ways are viewers influenced or manipulated?

Protection and resistance

Advertising, like propaganda, if carried too far, becomes self-defeating: it evokes opposition or derision or is ignored. Its claims are generally treated cautiously, and to-day the public is advised by the "Consumers' Association Ltd.", which publishes a monthly report *Which?* This contains information about the reliability and worth of advertised goods and is a valuable guide to any purchaser. There is also the Consumers' Advisory Council with its *Shoppers' Guide* which does similar work, whilst a number of weekly journals give advice which protects the consumer's interests.

Powers and limitations

Consider the following quotations from *The Nature and Quality of Mass-Communications with special reference to Television*, by Richard Hoggart [William F. Harvey Memorial Lecture. Fircroft College Publication]:

"The television 'commercials' are the successors of the old coloured mail-order catalogues, but much more sophisticated. They do not simply exploit old habits; they seek to extend them. In an expanding commercial society they sell people

not only dreams they already nourish, but new dreams for new needs or possible needs . . .

"But in the present situation the single most powerful attempt to alter attitudes—to educate manners—in Britain is being made through the advertisements on I.T.V. There we may see at its plainest the sort of Britain—the quality of life in Britain—which might emerge if the kinds of force it represents were totally and without qualification or resistance at play . . .

" . . . The advantage of television is that it can, instantaneously and sharply, offer huge numbers of people a sense of the excitement and variety and possible depths of knowledge. Its limitation, in normal conditions, is that it is a creature of daily or weekly fresh starts. It is bound to be like some show which, though it may claim that it never closed, yet went on constantly making presentations (in both the usual senses) to new audiences. It can only rarely assume any continuity; it is always making introductions."

Members may like to examine and compare the B.B.C. and I.T.A. television programmes for any one day, and assess them in school.

References:

- Adult Education and Mass Culture*. Asa Briggs. (William F. Harvey Memorial Lecture 1958. Fircroft College Publication).
Television in Britain. (A P.E.P. publication. 1958. 3s. 6d.)
Commercial Television: What is to be done? Christopher Mayhew. (Fabian Tract 318. 2s.)
Other book references will be found in the above notes.

Section X

Out of the Crowd into the Group

NOTES BY GWEN PORTEOUS

To-day we have almost universal education; we have a high degree of prosperity; we have increased leisure, amenities and wider opportunities of many kinds. Yet careful research has established the fact that 75 per cent. of our adult population is unaffected, not just by adult education as such, but by anything not centred in the home or in neighbourhood or work in the narrow sense.

The 25 per cent.

Some adult educational bodies are concerned, and rightly so, with the minority within the 25 per cent. It would be dangerous in any society if the cultural interests of minorities were to be stifled. Serious-minded people with intellectual curiosity and a call to understand the nature of things should be cherished and encouraged in every possible way.

What comment arises in your group on this testimony of Richard Hoggart, author of *The Uses of Literacy*?

"In thirteen years of adult education nothing has so moved me to admiration and respect as the experience of working with a third year tutorial group. There is nothing in any way comparable, though there are, of course, other valuable ways of taking part in adult education."

Or, this witness of a W.E.A. tutor:

"My students simply go on with their homes and their work, creating little pools of sense around them."

If there are any present with experience of such groups, they should be encouraged to tell of them in terms of their own personal and social life.

The majority within the 25 per cent.

These are not likely ever to join a tutorial or a one-year class. They may well be alert and interested in many aspects of the world around them, anxious to learn and to discuss a variety of matters with their fellows. They presumably enjoy group life, since they are found to be attached to some form of it. They are valuable people in the community and they, too, should be cherished and encouraged in every possible way. There are such in almost every Adult School. They should be asked to state its particular value to them.

What might be some of the "other valuable ways of taking part in adult education" of which Richard Hoggart speaks?

What might be the value of learning any craft alongside other people?

What of the 75 per cent.?

It would be a major mistake to think of the 75 per cent. as dumb and stupid. It will be more profitable to seek for some reasons why they are as yet outside any of the processes of democratic social activity. Here are some points for consideration:

Generally speaking, the active 25 per cent. minority had a more favourable educational start. They had the extra year or years at school.

The means of communication on a mass scale—radio, cinema, the press, etc.—have grown almost simultaneously to a range that would have been unimaginable even ten years ago. For those capable of being selective this has been an asset. For those not well equipped with powers of discrimination the effects may not have been so good.

Speaking of the arrival of television in the home, Richard Hoggart asks: "What we are bound to wonder is how many might have taken part in the social democratic process if they had not been led, in spite of their increased opportunities, to 'contract out'."

Is it possible that those who want them to have this interest don't know how to speak to them, assume a vocabulary which many people obviously do not possess, and a background which just isn't there?

The challenge

The challenge is not a simple one. On the one hand there is the clear need to discover how to engage more of those who

never join a tutorial class. We must find out how to speak in the kind of way that makes learning attractive and thereby acceptable. On the other hand we must not, either openly or implicitly, devalue what adult education really stands for.

For consideration:

Standards must be maintained whether in making pots, in Adult School life, or in a tutorial class.

The need to get through to people in all sorts of ways other than those of formal education is an urgent one. Can this be done by "talking down" or by an assumed disregard for what is best in our cultural heritage?

A condescending attitude to the actual interests of those we wish to engage, whatever these may be, is a sure way to defeat our purpose.

People matter. Is it possible that a real affection for people, wherever and whatever they are, might provide the beginning of an answer?

Can we hope to get enduring respect for our work unless it makes a clear demand on thought and feeling at whatever level it is operating?

"In short, we must have faith in the educability of all, respect for the strengths in all, an appropriate versatility of approach—which means more methods by more agencies (not a dilution and vulgarization of what we already do). We need more staff, especially staff trained to see that the universe may be contained in a flower or a cane lampshade or a racing pigeon."

(Brian Groombridge, in *Adult Education*. Winter 1959.)

Finding the right means of communication is not a simple matter.

"The lonely crowd"

This is a phrase coined by the American writer, David Riesman, to describe the mass public in modern America. In our country 75 per cent. of the population in their spare time are not engaged in any of the democratic processes of civic life. Yet a society such as ours needs a great number of people voluntarily active and concerned outside their local life in all sorts of different ways.

What might be the effect of this *non-participation* on:

1. The quality of personal life;
2. Enjoyment of a general interest in what is going on;
3. Children and their need of a growing appreciation of the responsibilities of citizenship;

4. The health of democracy and good government;
5. Voluntary institutions;
6. The satisfaction of being involved on a deep level in the life of the community?

What has group life to offer?

Merely to increase the number of groups meeting in a community, irrespective of what happens inside them, will not get us far. What kind of group life creates "pools of sense" in any neighbourhood?

Here are some suggestions. Such groups are groups in which:

(i) It is possible to get to know people as individuals, each of them unique; this can only be done in small enough groups and over a fair period of time.

(ii) There is compensation provided for the overwhelming pressure of modern mass media of communication.

Consider this statement:

"The columnists in the popular press give us a temporary interest in people we have never met, many of whom they scarcely know; the television screen brings them regularly into our homes, but it can never provide that deeper sense of satisfaction which comes from deep personal relationship. The face on the screen can never take the place of the face round the corner. If it does, life becomes thwarted, distorted and inherently empty." (Professor Asa Briggs: *Adult Education and Mass Culture*.)

The last sentence will repay careful study.

(iii) There is genuine equality felt on both sides between leader and led, teacher and taught, between the fruits of learning and the wisdom of experience.

(iv) Each member is involved on a deep level in the well-being of all the others.

(v) Each member can be given a life-long sense of his own value and competence as a human being.

The members of any good Adult School should be able to add to this list.

Section XI

The New China

NOTES BY PERCY W. DAY

"Let China sleep", said Napoleon. "When it wakes, the world will be sorry." The emergence of New China as a unified national power under Communism is the most significant international event of recent years and gives point to Napoleon's remark. The Chinese revolution really began with the fall of the Manchu Empire in 1911 and Sun Yat Sen's proclamation in 1912 of the three famous principles: nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood. These remained an aspiration rather than a reality until the Communists acquired power in 1949.

New China raises important problems both for Asia and for the world. These notes can touch only the fringe of them, but they contain suggestions for schools which wish to give more time to study of them.

A list of books will be found on page 122.

(a) THE LAND

A good map of China will be useful, such as that in Bartholomew's contour-coloured World Map Series: paper 5s., cloth 7s.6d.

Area and climate

The nearly 4 million square miles of China cover a compact territory (twice the size of India, larger than that of U.S.A., exceeded only by U.S.S.R.). China is about as broad as it is long and extends from latitude 20° N. to latitude 54° N. and from the Tibetan plateau to the East China Sea. The great capacity of its large river basins and coastal plains for supporting population has contributed greatly to its traditional supremacy in Asia. There is a great variation between the climate of North and South and between the inland and coastal areas.

The Northern and Southern areas have the advantage of the greatest rainfall at the season of highest temperature. This makes possible a high degree of cultivation there. Both have hot summers, but the Northern area has bitterly cold winters. The two areas are complementary—a further natural asset. The interior of China is not penetrated by the main rain-bearing winds. The land mass is high in the West and descends gradually to the East. About one half of China is above one mile in elevation. The inhospitable character of climate and topography in the interior lands gives China a sure defence and impedes her intercourse with neighbours.

A land of rivers

China is a land of three great rivers—the Hwang-Ho, the Yangtse and the Si-Kiang. The Hwang-Ho opens out into one of the most fertile deltaic plains in the world, where probably the first Chinese settled and developed methods of spade culture and irrigation—a characteristic of China—long before the Christian era. The basins of the Yangtse and the Si-Kiang have a different character from that of the Hwang-Ho. They are hilly and in some parts even mountainous. In early times these lands, thanks to a warm and moist climate, were covered with jungle forests. These had to be cleared before any organized settlement was possible. This probably began in the third century B.C. and led to the extension of Chinese civilization from the North to the South.

These three great water-ways were supplemented by canals and gave China comparative ease of inland communication and so contributed to China's commercial and cultural unity. When approached by the first Western emissaries, China presented the inspiring spectacle of one-fifth of the human race speaking the same language, living its own life, and held together by a community of ideas, customs, and traditions. There is a Chinese saying, "Wherever a boat can go, the Chinese can take it." To-day the Chinese rivers open up a great hydro-electric power potential, which has yet to be fully developed.

The Yangtse has frequently overflowed its banks and these floods have caused great havoc, e.g. in 1931 and 1954. Steps have been taken to prevent them and to conserve water supplies (see Refs. Q and R). Compare such problems with those in Britain, outlined in Section XIII of this handbook.

Agriculture

Agriculture has been the basis of Chinese civilization, as F. H. King makes clear (*Farmers of forty Centuries*); but it was not large-scale agriculture. Most of the arable land was held in the shape of small holdings. At the time of the Communist accession to power 80 per cent. of the Chinese people were farmers, whose average farm in the wheat-growing North was only just over five acres in size. In the rice-growing Yangtse-Kiang valley the average farm was only one acre in extent and was even less in the S.E. coast area. The land suitable for agriculture was only about one-fifth of the total area; but the hoe-culture stage was most efficient and led to intensive methods of cropping, which gave high yields per acre. China produced 67 bushels of rice per acre to the 47 of U.S.A.; and 16 bushels of wheat to the 14 of U.S.A.

The Chinese have always been tied closely to the soil and to the homes of their ancestors. This explains the great loyalty to the idea of the family, which with the clan was the basic social unit. The family cared for its aged and provided for its descendants.

The alluvial lands in the North-East are the most important agricultural area. Wheat is the main crop, having replaced rice. Oats, barley, maize and soya beans are also grown. In the South rice is the main crop and two types are grown—the alluvial type in the river basins and the upland or mountain type on the terraced slopes. Much rice is grown, but even then there is barely enough for the people. Of the other crops, tea and cotton are the most important. China is the largest producer of tea and consumes most of it. She ranks fourth in world cotton production.

The pig is the most important animal and owes its value to its scavenging capacity. It is estimated that there are over 100 million pigs in China. There is a sheep and goat population of about 70 million. Cattle are in number about half that of pigs—due to the fact that in so densely crowded a land as China little land can be spared for pasture. There are also large numbers of chickens, geese and ducks.

Mineral wealth

Until recently China was not considered to have great mineral wealth; but much prospecting and development has been undertaken and has revealed much wealth. China's coal

reserves are estimated at 250,000 million metric tons. Iron-ore reserves are estimated at 2,500 million tons, and there has been a considerable development of the iron and steel industry since 1949. Petroleum has been found in several areas, but no final figure has been assessed, as discoveries are being made of new fields. China definitely has considerable oil reserves which put it among the world's major oil powers, and in addition to crude or natural oil she has a number of oil-shale deposits. The non-ferrous metals—e.g. molybdenum, tungsten, tin, antimony, aluminium—are to be found in deposits mainly south of the Yangtse river. Tin and molybdenum reserves place China first in the world and tungsten second, next to U.S.S.R.

Population

China's greatest resource is its people. One-fifth of the world's population is crowded into that one-fifteenth of the earth's surface; and six-sevenths of China's population live in the coastal and riverine plains, which are only about one-third of China's total area. Here they cluster at about 5,000 to the square mile. In the mountains and the deserts the population is less than two to the square mile. The population is a youthful one: 61 out of every 100 are under 30 years of age, compared with 42 out of every 100 for the United Kingdom. A Russian newspaper points out that the number of Chinese children under four years of age is equal to half the population of the U.S.S.R.

In the sparser outlying regions live many of the national minorities who are not Chinese by race or language. They number about 6 per cent. of the total population, but they occupy 60 per cent. of the total land area, which contains considerable mineral wealth and forest.

The urban population was estimated at about 10 per cent. of the total in 1949. By 1955 it had risen to about 15 per cent. and is still rising. China remains mainly a rural and agricultural people.

Over the centuries the gentry maintained their position of power by extracting heavy rents from their tenants, providing funds for the local credit institutions, carrying on the business of the rice trade, and educating their sons for positions in the bureaucracy. They maintained close contacts with local officials and war-lords. (For further study, see B, pp. 7-27;

C, pp. 9-16; D, pp. 18-25; F, pp. 3-22; G, pp. 1-15; M, pp. 3-60; P, pp. 7-15.)

For consideration:

1. How do natural conditions in China differ from those in this country?
2. How do such different natural conditions compel the use of different agricultural methods?
3. Will the two above factors result in different customs in the two countries?
4. Will the consequence also be a different outlook on life and politics?

(b) THE 1949 REVOLUTION

What led to the Revolution

The Kuomintang

Sun Yat Sen re-organized his party, known as the Kuomintang—or National People's Party—in the hope that it would implement his three principles and so free China from foreign pressure and make her independent again. He thought that these reforms would have to be carried out in three stages: (i) Military operations combined with propaganda until unity was achieved; (ii) political education of the people in provincial self-government by specially trained members of the Kuomintang; (iii) the summoning of a People's Congress to create a Constitution for the Republic when more than half the provinces had established their own constitutions. Sun Yat Sen died in 1925 and Chiang Kai-Shek succeeded him as leader of the Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang was at first considered by most foreign observers as likely to unify China and bring peace and prosperity to it. It only partially fulfilled these expectations, for it shirked dealing with the desperate state of the countryside—the gravest social and political problem, capable of solution only by a radical, sweeping and comprehensive scheme of land reform.

If the revolution was to be completed, the nation would have to seek another force. Many Chinese wondered whether the Communist Party, started in 1922, might not solve the

problem, as they were disciplined, and said to be spectacularly non-corrupt.

The rise of Communism

In the spring of 1927 Chiang Kai-shek drove out the Communists, but a small part of the Kiangsi army revolted and declared for the Communists, who set up a Chinese Soviet Government in the mountainous borders of the Kiangsi and Fukien provinces. Mao Tse-tung was the outstanding personality among the Communist leaders and was of genuine peasant origin. He became a Communist in 1920 but remained extremely Chinese and acted in Chinese ways and thus made a great impact on Chinese history in the long run. He saw that the peasants had many grievances and could be the driving force in the Communist attacks on the Kuomintang. "The force of the peasants is like that of raging winds and driving rain. It is rapidly increasing in violence. No force can stand in its way", he wrote. In his Soviet he tried new policies of land reform and the elimination of the rural gentry; but by 1934 Chiang Kai-shek's successes forced the Communists to find refuge elsewhere. They made the Long March to North China, where they established their capital at Yen-an. (For an account of these activities, see reference O.)

The Japanese War

In the eight years' War against Japan the Communists finally joined the Kuomintang, who at first recovered prestige. China was badly damaged by the war—the havoc was rather like that done in Europe during the Thirty Years War. The Communists took less part in the war than had been expected. Mao Tse-tung described their tactics as 70 per cent. self-development, 20 per cent. compromise and 10 per cent. fighting. In the war years corruption became rife among the Kuomintang, and the peasants, conscripted into the army, were treated with appalling callousness. The Communists gained a great advantage from the Japanese surrender. In Manchuria they surrendered to the Russians, who turned over all the captured arms and equipment to the Communists, who thus got up-to-date material for the renewal of the Civil War, if it should take place. For two years the American government tried to mediate between the Kuomintang and the Communists, but the discussions failed in the summer of 1947.

The renewal of the Civil War, 1947-49

Two years of civil war ended in the final triumph of Communism. Chiang Kai-shek relied for success on his armies, his prestige, his hold on the cities and ports, his financial resources and American aid; but in Chinese terms he was "a paper tiger". Mao Tse-tung was confident that he could raise such a storm in the countryside by intensifying measures of land reform and revolution that it would overwhelm the Kuomintang, which relied chiefly on the towns. The Red Army was not a predatory weapon employed against the people but an instrument used to remove social abuses for the people.

Main reasons for the Communist victory

1. The lack of loyalty in the Kuomintang army—most of the troops had no will to fight. The Communists found it easy to buy arms from the troops and to bribe generals to change sides.
2. The decay and corruption in Kuomintang China—the task of post-war reconstruction was treated with levity, and many Kuomintang leaders decided to employ corrupt practices to recompense themselves for all the hardships endured in the Japanese war.
3. The Kuomintang relied more and more on the secret police—this was especially resented by the students and the intelligentsia.
4. The collapse of the currency—even the commercial classes of Shanghai turned against the Kuomintang.
5. The lack of unity in the Kuomintang party. For 20 years Chiang Kai-shek had stood for the landlord and privileged classes, but even they deserted him in his time of need.
6. Even the masses felt that "things cannot be worse under some other party".

The Communists in power

With the withdrawal of the remnants of Chiang Kai-shek's army to Formosa the way was left clear for the Communists to assume full control in China. In June 1949 the party convened a preparatory Committee for a People's Political Consultative Committee. On July 1st, Mao Tse-tung published his article on the People's Democratic Dictatorship.

In this article he laid down his fundamental concepts of the New Democracy. The People's Democratic Dictatorship was to be an alliance of four classes: labour, peasants, petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie (i.e. those merchants or industrialists not tainted by foreign imperialists). The red flag of the Communists showed four yellow stars clustered in a crescent about a larger star, representing the party. The dictatorship was led by the working classes—labour and peasants—acting through the Communist Party. "You are right", said Mao: "we are actually establishing a dictatorship. The people—at this stage the working classes, the peasant class, the petty bourgeoisie, and the national bourgeoisie—theirs is the dictatorship over the lackeys of imperialism, the landowning class, and the bureaucratic capitalists." Democratic methods of persuasion were to be used to reform bad habits, but compulsory reform would be applied to reactionaries. Communist policy was to control rather than to eliminate capital, as China's economy was backward; but Mao envisaged China developing from an agricultural into an industrial country and from a new democracy to a socialist and finally a Communist state, where classes would be eliminated and universal harmony prevail.

The People's Political Consultative Committee met in Peking in September, 1949, and passed an Organic Law and Common Programme, which led to the formation of the Chinese People's Republic on October 1st. (For further study: see A, pp. 36-48, 76-84; B, pp. 44-97; D, pp. 26-84; J, pp. 75-240; N, pp. 46-241, 364-388; P. pp. 37-46.)

For consideration :

1. "If you are planning for one year, sow grain; if planning for ten years, plant trees; but when planning for a hundred years, grow men" (Old Chinese saying). In what ways have the Chinese Communists applied this saying?

2. How far do you think the rise of the Communists to power in China was inevitable?

3. We have undergone a great social change in Britain since 1945. Compare it with the change in China during the same period.

(c) CHINA RECONSTRUCTS

The Communist structure

The totalitarian Communist Party abandoned the Kuo-mintang principle of the separation of powers.* Their guiding rule was "democratic centralism". Party members can debate policy at all levels; but once policy is decided the party line must be followed rigidly. Its power lies in this rigid discipline.

Parallel with the organs of the Party are the organs of the State, which were laid down by the Organic Law of 1953. This established a hierarchy of assemblies, elected ostensibly by universal suffrage, from the local rural assemblies to the National People's Congress, elected indirectly from the lower assemblies.

Each assembly chooses executive councils to carry out the functions of government. The Supreme executive is the Central People's Governing Council, consisting of a chairman, six vice-chairmen and 56 members. The decisions of each council are subject to the approval of the next higher council. The Central People's Governing Council delegates its power to a State Administrative Council of 20 members, which controls all officials down to the lowest level.

A peculiar feature is the reliance of the central government on the so-called Communist cadres—loyal and devoted servants who make the system work. They are shock troops (not civil servants) and are usually enthusiastic young party members (non-members are admitted). They take the lead in all party and governmental activities and organize the masses by means of field work (the most important part of their training). They live among the peasants, and learn their language, ideas and thoughts. These cadres contributed greatly to the success of the military campaigns against the Kuo-mintang and in the Land Reform campaigns.

Another vital feature of the regime is the virtual disappearance of corruption among the civil servants, which for centuries was rife in China. There is a Puritan streak in the Party. (For further study, see A, pp. 84-92; D, pp. 85-126; P, pp. 47-74).

* i.e. The three separate branches of a national government (e.g. the Executive, the legislature, and the judicature) have distinct and separate powers, as in the Constitution of the U.S.A.

Land reform

Land reform was the most urgent problem. The Communists had already carried out some measures before 1949; but after 1949 it was further carried out in four stages: (i) The arrival of the cadres in the village, which was cordoned off. They incited the poorer peasants to make the assault on the landlords. Thus they ensured the peasant's continued support for Communism and land reform. (ii) Settling the status of each farmer in the village. There were five categories. Classification was a vital matter. All aimed to be graded not too highly, preferably as a poor peasant or landless person. (iii) The redistribution of the property. Some peasants made wildly extravagant claims against the landlords. Violence and torture against the landlords were common at this stage. Redistribution was based on the principle of giving the peasants the land which they tilled, subject to addition or reduction to secure equality. (iv) The burning of the title deeds and lease contracts—a symbolic funeral for feudalism.

All these stages had been carried out by 1952, when it was estimated that more than 60 per cent. of the land had been redistributed in S.W. China and about 40 per cent. in Central and Southern China. A detailed description of this land reform in one village is given in Ref. H. Most peasants were well content to possess their own plot of land; but there were fears that many might aim to become capitalists and secure more land. So in 1954 the policy of collectivization was started as a further stage of land reform. Farmers were brought into mutual aid societies; but collectivization is not really suited to Chinese farming, owing to its traditional methods and the natural conditions.

In 1958 a further stage was begun with the formation of *communes*, which were unions of collective farms. These communes were to have a variety of functions, e.g. to organize the marketing of grain, schools, mines, electricity plants, the militia, and small-scale units of industry. The main aim was to get more productive labour for many jobs other than agriculture. Provision of kindergartens for children would free women for labour. Communes were also regarded as a means of breaking up the influence and power of the family, especially strong in rural China for centuries.

By October 1959 it was announced that 90 per cent of the rural population was living in communes; but there was much opposition to the communes and the government had to

modify the scheme and slow down the rate of creating communes. (For further study see A, pp. 97-101; B, pp. 106-114, 138-145; C, pp. 33-80; D, pp. 127-143; E, pp. 100-121; F, pp. 70-82; G, pp. 104-148; S, pp. 134-146.)

The Five-Year Plans

In the 12 years of Communist rule a large-scale revolution has been carried out in the economic organization, in savings and investment, and in distribution. This has been made possible by China's low level from which the Communists began. Everything is needed and whatever is produced can be sold.

A major factor was the stabilization of the currency. For decades there had been continuous inflation, distorting the normal economic life. The People's government introduced a commodity unit system which guaranteed the stability of purchasing power of bank deposits and other contractual obligations in terms of specified quantities of four or five commodities, which varied with the local economic background. This simple scheme was a great success and won approval from many sceptical Chinese.

Two organizations are concerned with economic planning, both working directly under the State Council. The State Planning Commission works out the major lines of long-term planning. The Economic Commission makes the annual plans and solves current problems, including the distribution of capital goods. Soviet experts are consulted, but the final decisions are in Chinese hands. The main problem has been to decide the balance between capital construction and consumer goods. A fair balance has been kept, as during the first Five-Year Plan consumer goods industries (according to official data) have shown a cumulative annual rate of 12.4 per cent. increase against the 23.7 per cent. increase in capital goods industries (these figures may be somewhat exaggerated). This growth has been made possible by a massive investment policy—mainly out of internal savings. The main Soviet help has been in the shape of blue prints and experts for industrial expansion. The Soviets also train Chinese students and workers.

Of the 493 billion yuan realized by State investment between 1953-57, 56 per cent. went to industry, 18.7 per cent. to transportation and communications and only 8.2 per cent. to agriculture, forest and water conservation. Of the industrial

investment 87 per cent. went to heavy industry and only 13 per cent. to light industry. Consequently heavy industry has grown at a phenomenal rate. In the period 1952-57 rolled steel output has increased from 1.1 to 4.5 million metric tons; coal production went up from 64.7 million tons to 130 million tons; electric power increased from 7.3 to 19.3 billion kilowatt-hours; and cement output from 2.9 to 6.9 million tons. It is calculated that, by the end of the third Five-Year Plan, China will be able to produce all the machinery required for further economic development.

The Great Leap Forward

"The Great Leap Forward" was the slogan for a great national movement in 1957-58 to mobilize the peasants to repair and build irrigation works, to collect all sorts of organic fertilizers, and to develop the "backyard furnace" scheme for the production of pig iron and steel in the countryside. The regime claimed a food output increase of from 185 to 375 million tons and increases of 101 per cent. in steel output, 107 per cent. in coal, and 30 per cent. in pig iron. These were astonishing figures but subsequently the figures had to be revised and the increases claimed were reduced by about a half. Even this, however, was an impressive achievement. (For further study, see A, pp. 92-97; B, pp. 124-132; C, pp. 81-158; D, pp. 143-175, 177-218; F, pp. 49-91; G, pp. 16-103, 149-190; P, pp. 101-124.)

Social achievements

The most significant social achievements are three in number:

(i) The Extension of Education

Great strides forward have been made in all educational spheres. In 1950 there were 139,000 university students; in 1959 there were 790,000. In 1949 there were only 600 post-graduate students doing research work; by 1956 there were 6,000. Some 60 million children over the age of seven are in primary schools, but there are still 30 million needing places, despite the building of many schools (e.g. 963 new schools in Peking since 1949). In 1950 there were only 20,000 qualified doctors in China. To-day there are 37,000 medical students in the medical schools.

(ii) Health Services

Health Services have been vastly extended. In Peking the infant mortality rate has fallen from 145 per 1,000 in 1952 to 45 in 1957. The regime claims that 500 million people have been vaccinated. Some cities are free from small-pox. Sanitary regulations are strictly enforced. Streets in the cities are clean. There are no flies in the market places (one of the proudest boasts in the new China).

(iii) The improved position of women

Women have been given legal rights to maintenance and divorce. This has freed women from their traditional subjugation. Some of the provisions of the Marriage Reform Law were badly drawn up. Recently divorce has been made more difficult to secure. There is a good description of the changed position of women in Ref. T. (For further study, see B, pp. 132-137; C, pp. 159-170; G, pp. 191-206; E, pp. 56-58; I, pp. 185-189, 295-312.)

Persuasion and Propaganda

"Education through persuasion is the principal method of dealing with class contradictions and the class struggle." This statement summarizes one of the main methods by which the Communists have achieved so much in the reconstruction of China. The Party will spend infinite time, trouble and patience in expounding its beliefs to the uncovered. Two good examples of its successful campaigns are the three launched against corruption, waste, and bureaucratism (they resulted in the expulsion of one in ten of all party members) and the five of 1952 against bribery, tax-evasion, stealing state property, theft of state economic secrets, and embezzlement in carrying out government contracts. (These lasted only a few months but liquidated the firms on the government's black-list and cowed the merchants and manufacturers into submission to the new order). For a good description of how these methods worked on a small scale in Shanghai, see Ref. T, pp. 102-143.

The attitude to minorities

About 6 per cent. of the population of China are not Chinese either in race or language. These people, officially called National Minorities, enjoy a separate, almost a favoured, status, very different from the neglect suffered under the Empire and the Republic. Most of them live in the highland

and mountainous areas. They have been allowed to form autonomous groups for education, law and customs, but they come under provincial government for such purposes as security, communications and other large-scale functions.

To sum up

All these achievements of the New China are substantial ones, even though the fulfilment of some of the plans is somewhat inadequate. The Communist Party attaches too little weight to standards and qualities. It decides to set up amenities in every district, but frequently, when these amenities are visited, they turn out to be backward and inadequate. Nevertheless behind all lies a large vision which (wise or otherwise) cannot be ignored. On the other hand there is a dark side to what the Communist Party has done—more clear probably to foreign observers than to the Chinese themselves.

Terror has been a feature of the Communist Revolution, at least in its early stages. The Korean War in 1950 was used by the Communist Party as a reason for extending the terror, on the ground that the United Nations army might try to restore Chiang Kai-shek. They saw all non-Communists as conspirators and likely secret agents. Large numbers of people were seized and imprisoned. The terror was worse in the villages than in the towns. It is agreed that some two million people were liquidated. Again, those who were not executed were formed into *forced labour* groups. Ordinary prisoners can also be recruited for forced labour. The normal labouring day for prisoners is 9-10 hours, but it can be extended to 12 hours in seasonal emergencies. Even at the end of their term of imprisonment, prisoners may still have to continue in forced labour. Further, *brainwashing* is applied to many counter-revolutionaries. The instruments are a variety of prisons, each adapted to a different purpose, but all aimed at sapping the opposition and forcing the prisoners to confess their errors. For an account of this technique, see K—an account of the author's treatment after his arrest in Tibet. (For further study see A, pp. 102-112; B, pp. 155-167; I, pp. 328-330, 338-351.)

For consideration:

1. "There is no room yet for happiness, but there is room for hope—and that is half way to happiness" (Peter Schmid's

judgement on the New China). Can you accept this judgement? For what reasons?

2. "Dogma is less useful than horse dung." (Mao Tse-tung.) In what ways has the Communist Party applied this idea in carrying out its reconstruction policy?

3. "Time and again in China I was reminded of the atmosphere in Israel in 1948 . . . In both countries the awareness of a totally new start seems to me to have made a new people from old" (Peter Schmid). Can you accept this assessment?

4. "Fight no battle that is not well prepared, no battle whose outcome is uncertain." (Mao Tse-tung.) Has this Communist military slogan been applied to their reconstruction problems?

(d) THE NEW CHINA AND THE WORLD

The first line of a new and popular Chinese song runs "The East wind prevails over the West wind." Mao Tse-tung himself says: "Neutrality is a mere camouflage and does not exist." Both these sentiments are ominous. Article II of the Common Programme sums up the aims of the Communist Party in world affairs. It states:

"The People's Republic of China shall unite with all peace-loving and freedom-loving countries and peoples throughout the world, first of all with the U.S.S.R., all People's Democracies and all oppressed nations. It shall take its stand in the camp of international peace and democracy to oppose jointly imperialist aggression and defend lasting world peace."

All the enemies of the People's Republic have been labelled imperialists, fascists, reactionaries, and warmongers. The People's Republic has claimed the friendship of all peace-loving countries, i.e. all who have adopted policies like that of the New China.

The problem of Formosa

Formosa has remained a thorny problem since Chiang Kai-shek went there with the remnants of his army and supporters. The People's Republic claims it as Chinese territory and calls it Taiwan, but U.S.A. still supports Chiang Kai-shek. Two questions arise: Will the People's Republic ultimately try to invade Formosa in spite of its being protected by the American 7th fleet? Or will the Republic be content to

wait for the downfall of the Formosa Republic either as a consequence of Chiang Kai-shek's death or as a result of the revolt of the Formosan people? The answers are not easy.

The United Nations and the New China

Chiang Kai-shek's regime was dominant in China at the time of the formation of the United Nations and was rewarded with a permanent seat on its Security Council, which it still retains despite the transfer of that regime to Formosa. Since then several efforts have been made to raise the question of New China instead of Formosa being represented in the United Nations. The People's Republic pours scorn on the idea that Chiang Kai-shek's representative really represents China. The situation has been complicated by the fact that U.S.A. continues to support Chiang Kai-shek and by the fighting which took place in the Korean war between Chinese volunteers and the United Nations army. The last attempt to raise the question at the United Nations was made in 1958, when India requested that the General Assembly should discuss the matter, but the Steering Committee rejected the request by 12 votes to 7, with 2 abstentions. This decision was upheld by the General Assembly after a two-day debate, in which 35 countries took part. The question is bound to be raised again and again until a more satisfactory decision is reached. Much will depend on more cordial relations being established between U.S.A. and the New China.

Relations with U.S.A.

New China's relations with the U.S.A. have remained unfriendly for the following reasons: (i) The continued support of Chiang Kai-shek by U.S.A. (ii) The hang-over from the Korean War, particularly the support of President Syngman Rhee in South Korea by U.S.A. (iii) The "massive retaliation" doctrine of Mr. Dulles, which might have led to a full-scale war over the Indo-China crisis in 1954. (iv) The support of Japan by U.S.A.; the People's Republic accuses U.S.A. of restoring militarism and fascism there, and fears that an all-powerful Japan might revive its ambitions in Asia. (v) The organization of S.E.A.T.O. (vi) The continued non-recognition of the People's Republic by U.S.A. The hate campaign against U.S.A., therefore, continues, and on three main themes—that U.S.A. is the deadly enemy of the Chinese people, is a "rotten

imperialist" nation, and is a "paper tiger". Uncle Sam is caricatured as a monster with dripping hands, and Americans are branded as brutes and bullies. Certainly the Chinese people regarded the settlement of the Indo-China dispute at Geneva in 1954 as a great diplomatic triumph for the People's Republic and a damaging blow to U.S.A.'s prestige.

On the other hand it has to be remembered that U.S.A. has always taken a deep interest in China during the 20th century and has given much help to her in the way of education, administrators and missionaries. Americans had made genuine and praiseworthy efforts to rebuild China after the second world war, but she had backed a loser in Chiang Kai-shek. She felt betrayed and scorned. Under this strong emotion her guiding aim was to "contain" revolutionary China. (For further study see A, pp. 179-191; D, pp. 236-242, 250-258, 271-276, 296-302; E, pp. 211-240; I, pp. 24-33, 38-45, 381-394.)

Relations with the U.S.S.R.

The Communist victory in China took the Soviet government by surprise. Some foreign observers wondered how close Russo-Chinese collaboration would become. Some thought that a quarrel might develop between Peking and Moscow. Mao Tse-tung, however, went to Moscow for negotiations soon after he came to power. What form the prolonged discussions took is not known, but an alliance was formed. It was directed ostensibly against Japan, the defeated enemy, and it has continued ever since.

The U.S.S.R. has always been tactful in its dealings with the People's Republic—much more so than in its relations with its Eastern European satellites. Even if differences have at times arisen between the People's republic and the U.S.S.R., the two regimes have ironed them out. Korea was an area in which both powers were interested. It is generally supposed that China did not welcome any increase of Russian power there, particularly the outbreak of the Korean war. On the other hand Chinese intervention in the war by means of her volunteers is believed to have been made without Soviet approval; it was an advantage, however, to the U.S.S.R., since it distracted American attention from Europe. Nevertheless uncontrolled audacity on China's part could have led to a full-scale war, which the U.S.S.R. probably wanted to avoid. Such differences as these did not prevent the establishment of

closer relations, especially in the field of economic aid, where the U.S.S.R. gave much technical help to China.

In 1958 it was obvious that Peking and Moscow did not see eye to eye on a Summit Meeting and Yugoslav revisionism, but Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung managed to smooth out their differences. Certainly the Soviet Government has never treated China as a satellite in the same way as it has dealt with the Eastern European states. After Stalin's death, Mao Tse-tung was really the senior leader of world communism, so China could be regarded as the senior partner. Whether this is so is a matter of opinion.

At the moment Communism binds the U.S.S.R. and China together, but will it always be so? In the years to come the situation will change drastically. China's population is already over 600 millions and by the end of the century may reach 1,000 millions. Her industrial potential is growing rapidly and may outstrip that of the U.S.S.R. Further, the Chinese have always regarded the Russians as Europeans and not Asiatics; their presence in Asia may ultimately arouse the fears of China, which is undoubtedly the most powerful state in Asia and which may want to dominate the whole of the continent. (For further study see A, pp. 200-206; D, pp. 226-245, 262-271, 277-306; E, pp. 241-254.)

Relations with Great Britain

Great Britain had not been involved in the Chinese Revolution to the same extent as U.S.A. and felt that the Communist regime was more likely than the Kuomintang to provide a stable, unified and strong government in China. In January 1950 Great Britain recognized the People's Republic as a matter of *fact* though not as a matter of moral approval. There was the hope that the People's Republic would react in a friendly way to this gesture. But that hope was disappointed; ambassadors were not exchanged and the British envoy was only accepted as a negotiating representative to clear up a number of matters in dispute. Further, British business men were driven out of the ports and British interests in China were liquidated. The outbreak of the Korean War added to the difficulties, especially after the arrival of Chinese volunteers.

By what the Chinese describe as "The Unequal Treaties," Hong Kong has been a British possession for many years.

Since 1949 it has become a refugee camp for many Chinese and a useful window and listening post on China. Equally the Chinese can use it in reverse for the same purposes on the Western powers. Perhaps it is for this reason that the People's Republic has not made a direct attack on Hong Kong. (For further study see A, pp. 196-200).

Relations with India

India was one of the first states to recognize the People's Republic, but relations were not friendly, as India's newly-won independence did not fit into the Communist propaganda formula. More friendly relations developed after India had used her good offices to secure an armistice in Korea in 1953.

On April 29th, 1954, India and China signed an agreement over trade and intercourse with Tibet, where the People's government had established its undisputed authority in 1951. The Pancha Sila (or five Principles of Co-existence) were first mentioned as the basis of China's policy in this agreement. They are simple statements, based on reciprocity. (i) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. (ii) Mutual non-aggression. (iii) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs. (iv) Equality and mutual benefit. (v) Peaceful co-existence.

These have been the basis of Indo-Chinese relations until recent events in Tibet, and Chinese claims to extend her boundaries at the expense of India have roused the fears of most Indians as to how far the People's Republic is pursuing an aggressive policy. Nehru and Chou En-lai have now met in 1960 to try to resolve these difficulties; the outcome may be known by 1961.

Relations with the Afro-Asian Block

With the rapid growth of newly-formed independent states in Asia and Africa since 1945, the People's Republic has tried to cultivate friendly relations with them. This has been done in two main ways: first, by the invitation to these countries to send delegations to China, where they are most hospitably and lavishly entertained in order to emphasize the superiority of the Communist system over Capitalism and the material advantages which accrue; and second, by China's participation in the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries in April, 1955, when Chou En-lai declared, "On

the basis of strict adherence to the Five Principles, we (China) are prepared now to establish normal relations with all the Asian and African countries, with all the countries of the world, and first of all with neighbouring countries." Chou En-lai pursued a most conciliatory policy and emphasized that he wanted "to seek common ground and not to create divergence." Thus he gained the friendship of many uncommitted powers, who are growing in numbers in the United Nations where their votes can be cast for the admission of the People's Republic. (For further study see A, pp. 191-196; D, pp. 247-250, 256-262; E, pp. 185-210, 241-272.)

Peace or War?

No one can deny that the People's Republic has emerged as a great power in Asia and in the world, which has brought peace and unification in China, where it has lifted a considerable portion of the population out of starvation. What is a matter for concern for the future is whether the People's Republic will use its new-found strength for aggressive or peaceful purposes.

At the moment the Chinese policy towards India and Asia as a whole raises doubts as to her peaceful intentions. On the other hand China's past history must not be overlooked. Her relation with the outside world has been one of extremes. For many centuries China was a world to herself—all other peoples were barbarians, to whom she would show compassion if they showed submission. With the advent of the Western Powers in the 19th century, however, China had to submit to the other extreme—humiliation. In the 20th century China has gone through a variety of stages of ignorance and resistance, imitation and frustration, attempts at reforms and reaction. Now she has recovered her strength, but she lacks much experience of normal international intercourse. Nevertheless, in Chou En-lai she has a skilful negotiator (General Marshall considered him second only in skill to Sir Winston Churchill).

Just as Mao Tse-tung applied and adapted Chinese ideas and ways of life to bring about a successful Revolution, because he was not too much attached to dogma, so in its future international relations the People's Republic may abandon the rigid idea of the inevitable spread and triumph of revolutionary world communism and be content to apply the Pancha Sila to all nations, as Chou En-lai offered to do at the

Bandung Conference. Are the other nations ready to meet him half-way? (For further study see A, pp. 207-216; D, pp. 277-306; E, pp. 256-261.)

For consideration:

1. Quoting Chu Hsi, the Sung philosopher, who once remarked "Apply to anyone the method he has first used to others," Mao Tse-tung told the Chinese people: "This is what we are doing. That is, to apply to imperialism and its lackeys . . . the same method with which they treated others. Simply this and nothing else!" In this light, compare China's relations with other powers before 1949 and in the twelve years since.
2. New China or India: which do you think is more likely to be the model for the other Asiatic peoples in the future?
3. Should the People's Republic be admitted to the United Nations?
4. China or the U.S.S.R.: which do you think will be the predominant force in the Communist World in the future?

Recommended Books:

- A. Guy Wint. *Spotlight on Asia*. (Penguin Special 164. 3s. 6d.)
- B. Guy Wint. *Commonsense about China*. (Gollancz. 6s.)
The above are well-written and are without obvious bias.
- C. M. Shapiro. *Changing China*. (Lawrence and Wishart. 5s.)
- D. Ping-Chia Kuo. *China: New Age and New Outlook*. (Gollancz, or Penguin Special 179. 3s. 6d.) A stimulating book, posing many questions. The references given are to the Penguin edition.
- E. C. P. Fitzgerald. *Flood Tide in China*. (Cresset Press. 25s.)
- F. T. Shabad. *China's Changing Map*. (Methuen. 32s. 6d.)
- G. S. Adler. *The Chinese Economy*. (Routledge & Kegan Paul. 25s.)
- H. I. and D. Crook. *Revolution in a Chinese Village Ten Mile Inn*. (Routledge & Kegan Paul. 21s.)
- I. P. Townsend. *China Phoenix*. (Cape. 25s.)
- J. R. Payne. *Mao Tse-Tung*. (Secker and Warburg. 25s.) From a library.
- K. G. Bull. *When Iron Gates Yield*. (Hodder. 12s. 6d.)
- L. D. Cusack. *Chinese Women Speak*. (Wellington, Angus & Robertson. 21s.)
- M. Wang Chun-Heng. *A Simple Geography of China*. (China Knowledge. 5s.)*
- N. G. Stein. *The Challenge of Red China*. (Pilot Press. 15s.) From a library.
- O. E. Snow. *Red Star over China*. (Gollancz. 6s.)
- P. *Handbook on People's China*. (Foreign Languages Press, Peking. 5s.)*

- Q. R. Alley. *Man against Flood*. (New World Press, Peking. 3s.)*
- R. *China's Big Leap in Water Conservancy*. (Foreign Languages Press, Peking. 2s.)*
- S. Peter Schmid. *The New Face of China*. (Harrap. 18s.) A well-illustrated commentary by a shrewd Swiss observer, but now out of print. From a library.
- T. Shirley Wood. *A Street in China*. (Michael Joseph. 16s.) The experiences of an American woman, married to a Chinese veterinary surgeon, in Shanghai after the 1949 Revolution.
- N.A.S.U. Study Handbook for 1935. China (3 studies) by T. Herdman.
- N.A.S.U. Study Handbook for 1944. China (6 studies) by M. Chalmers.

Magazines:

The China Quarterly. (Summit House, 1-2, Langham Place, London, W.1. 5s. per copy.) The first issue for January, 1960, gives a useful appraisal of the first decade of the New China.

China Reconstructs. Monthly. 10s. yearly.

Women of China. Quarterly. 1s. a copy.

Peking Review. Weekly.

The last three magazines are published in China and can be obtained from Collet's Holdings, Ltd., 45 Museum Street, London, W.C.1; or from the British-China Friendship Association, 228 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1, from which films also are available, on hire.

Visual aids:

Filmstrip (No. 479/H-14), price 27s. 6d., published by Common Ground, from Foundation Film Library, Brooklands House, Weybridge, Surrey.

Pamphlets, etc., from the Cultural Attaché, The Chinese Embassy, 49 Portland Place, London, W.1.

Maps:

Some good maps, descriptions of the land, and illustrations of the countryside can be found in T. Herdman's *The Great Plain of China*. (Unit 9, Longmans Colour Geographies. Price 3s.)

* Obtainable from the British-China Friendship Association, 228 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1.

Section XII

Man and his Landscape

NOTES BY ERNEST F. CHAMPNESS

These studies deal with the countryside, integral parts of which are our hamlets, villages and small towns; these are widely distributed over the land. We are not here concerned with our conurbations (vast urban areas), except in so far as these grew in the past from the destruction of the countryside.

We are now able to form some balanced judgement of the effects of the Industrial Revolution, its blunders and achievements. A second Industrial Revolution—atomic energy, automation, supersonic transport—is now upon us; wisdom calls us to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past in our planning for the future.

In recent years there has grown up, by way of reaction, a far greater appreciation of the natural scene—the hills, fields, trees and wild flowers, as well as parks and gardens; and a determination has been born to preserve our countryside. Its beauties are dearly loved by British folk; it is the realm of everyman; it is our common heritage. Therein is our hope in working for its preservation.

Special attention is directed to Sylvia Crowe's book *Tomorrow's Landscape* (referred to in these notes as T.L.); it contains many wise and detailed suggestions regarding the preservation and improvement of our landscape. The character of that landscape is well expressed by her words: "England is one great estate."

(a) LOOKING BACKWARDS**Raw nature**

Some of England and much of Scotland and Wales consists of mountains, grass-covered uplands and bare rock. To many this rough land is the real country; there we can get away from civilization and find satisfaction in an elemental

environment, far from cities and their harsh noises. There, far away from man and man's activities, is peace of soul, fresh air and the healthy vigour of wild life. So it may seem; but in Great Britain—except, perhaps, in parts of Scotland—one is never far from the city, the town, the village and the factory. Not many miles distant is the road along which the coaches and the cars and the cycles travel; not far away is the inn, the roadhouse, the café; nearby are pylons and in the sky there is the aeroplane. Not infrequently there is the quarry, and underground the mine.

Landmarks of history

The various pre-Roman civilizations in our land had in the main followed the tops of the chalk and limestone ridges where the remaining earthworks are the glory of many of the uplands of Southern England.

The Romans constructed great military roads, running through forests and across swamps, linking together many parts of the land. These Roman roads ran largely in straight lines outwards from the administrative centre, London. They have left definite marks on to-day's countryside.

The Angles, Saxons, Jutes and Danes cleared much of the forest-land, but unfortunately they neglected the old Roman roads. By the time of the Norman Conquest much of the country was covered by a network of hamlets, villages and tiny towns. Each parish had its church, built mostly of local timber. Of these pre-Norman churches only a few of the later ones, which were built of stone, now survive. On, or near, the original sites there are now standing numerous lovely parish churches.

A most important feature of our familiar landscape is the cathedral and the churches which the Normans built, to be followed later by buildings in various Gothic styles. Many of the castles which the Normans erected form part of our present landscape, either as picturesque ruins or—much enlarged—as country houses.

During the Middle Ages our landscape was humanized and given architectural dignity by the numerous abbeys and priories which were often erected deep in the countryside. In the reign of Henry VIII these religious establishments were dissolved. Portions of very many of these fascinating blocks of buildings were converted into parish churches; many were

pulled down and the materials used in the erection of the stately homes which beautify our present landscape; others have fallen into decay, to be exhibited as objects of interest.

The Manor

In the village stood the Manor House; it was the centre of the life of the small group of people who lived nearby. Normally there were three large open fields which were farmed on a rotation system: two years each under a different crop, with one year fallow. The fields were divided into a considerable number of long strips, separated from each other by only narrow banks of earth. Each full member of the community had rights over the produce of a fixed number of strips in each field. In addition, there were the meadow, the common and the waste—forest or swamp—over which also the inhabitants had rights.

From this set-up there have descended to us the Manor House—often rebuilt on or near its original site—and the village common, or green—generally much reduced in size. In a few places the original unenclosed large fields remain; while, frequently, the present “lands” are the original strips, which have survived the enclosure of the open fields in which they were situated.

Some wooded waste has never been cleared, and we still have with us to-day land which has remained wooded from the end of the Ice Ages, though the species of the trees has changed.

18th- and 19th-century developments

The first two-thirds of the 18th century brought no special developments to the countryside, but towards the end of the century immense changes commenced, which were cumulative. These greatly damaged the slow build-up and humanization of our countryside which we have been considering. With the Industrial Revolution we start a new era. Production was greatly increased by the rapid development of mills, factories and mines. People moved from the country to the towns, but at the same time much of what had been country became urbanized. A new land was created, wealthier, expansive, adventurous; but there were some ugly patches. The refuse from the coal mines and the slag heaps destroyed many miles of fair countryside. In the Pennines the mills and factories,

making use of water power, followed the rivers up their valleys and desolated much of the English moorland. The uncontrolled smoke from numerous chimneys polluted the air in the industrial areas; a terrible dark squalor descended upon much of the land.

Great alterations took place in transport: rivers were made more navigable; a network of canals was constructed; roads—so long neglected—were improved and extended. In the 19th century came steamships, railways, and (towards the end) motor transport.

The great extensions of industry produced more wealth, much of which passed to people who wished to raise their status in society. With this in view they bought landed estates. Both the old rich and the new rich built huge mansions, and around them they laid out great parks which are still important elements in our landscape.

In the industrial towns the rivers, canals and railways tended to form part of the general squalor, but in the countryside the new canals became an added object of beauty. The railways came as a desecration of the countryside, but generally in the course of the century the harsh effects wore off and now many railway cuttings have become a source of delight by their display of trees and wild flowers. The railway stations in the country have slowly become accepted as part of the pleasant country scene.

The enclosures

In Tudor times the practice of enclosing the large fields of the Middle Ages, with their strip cultivation, was commenced. On a much larger scale the enclosures were continued towards the end of the 18th century and the early part of the 19th.

Behind the policy of enclosing farm land were important economic facts: the shortage of labour after the Black Death (1348); the increased rearing of sheep for their wool, which was in demand for the growing English cloth trade; the uneconomical nature of strip cultivation, since larger yields could be obtained by enclosing the land.

The enclosures altered the appearance of the countryside in a way that nothing else had done. From them arose the small and mostly rectangular fields, divided from one another by hedges—often containing clumps of trees—ditches, fences,

dry stone walls, according to the particular area. Looked at from a distance, these fields often present a patch-work-quilt effect with a lovely harmony of shape and colour (T.L.72). A map of your district, showing the enclosures, might throw light on what happened (try your local library).

The 20th century

The present century saw a vast extension in the use of motor transport and with it the demand for wide straight roads, plentifully supplied with road-houses and filling-stations. Both of these, in contrast with their surroundings, were usually ugly, or seemed out of place.

Early in the century came the aeroplane and with it the conversion of much valuable agricultural land into runways. Again, the rapid increase in the use of electric power necessitated the construction of numerous generating stations—many of them attractive buildings—and to carry the electric current the grid system was developed. The ready supply of electricity in the country encouraged the building of many new factories in country districts.

The rivers became still more polluted, while the canals largely fell into disuse. Our beautiful coastal scenery became disfigured by shacks, holiday camps and caravan sites. The villages tended to lose their compactness, and along the roads there spread out a sprawl of bungalows, huts and houses—ribbon development, as it is called.

The feeling grew that all was not well in this unguided development; there came a sense of "aesthetic sin". This new attitude had many expressions: the formation of the National Trust, Garden Cities, Satellite Towns and National Parks and the passing of Acts of Parliament to control rural development.

The new architecture

Great changes in architecture date from about the turn of the century. With the fact that the new structural methods were sometimes hidden by conventional exteriors, we are not here concerned, but the new buildings were eventually given a "new look"—a great step forward in many ways. The "new look" factory, hospital, office or school often rests gracefully in the landscape, especially when placed among trees.

Difficulties may arise when the architectural styles are mixed; the new and the old often clash rather sharply. Will

this sense of incongruity pass with time? It is difficult to say, but we must remember that architectural attractiveness frequently rests on the juxtaposition of contrasting styles of different periods—Tudor, Georgian, and sometimes Victorian.

Questions for discussion:

1. How far is the British landscape largely the result of our historic development.
2. What are your reactions to recent changes in your local countryside?
3. What was the English countryside like about 1820, when William Cobbett was taking his celebrated rural rides?

(b) LOOKING FORWARDS

Economic considerations

The consideration of rival economic claims has its rightful place in our investigations. Plans which may seem artistically desirable may for financial reasons be unwise or impossible; for instance, the placing of all electric wires underground. The Treasury has many claims on it for the use of our productive capacity and it must not be overlooked that Great Britain is a great industrial nation, requiring vast capital expenditure in many directions. Without progressive developments in industry and commerce we cannot support our dense population at the level which our people have come to regard as essential; nor without large imports of food and raw materials and the great export of manufactured goods to pay for them.

Can we not feel pride in our industries, as well as in our landscape? It may be that our landscape would look more attractive if no huge factory buildings existed in it, though it may be well to consider that *modern* factory buildings are often pleasing in appearance, especially if sited among trees and seen from a distance.

Further, we may have to accept, for the present, as part of the essential economy of an industrial land, some developments which we do not like: pylons, factories, motorways, reservoirs. But we must stand firmly against any policy of compensating for the loss of beauty arising from economic circumstances by adding objects which are considered to be pretty. Some of the worst blunders of the past have arisen from this kind of

policy: factories built in the Gothic style or with over-abundant Victorian ornamentation; gasometers, strangely disguised. (T.L. 104-116).

Roads and motorways

Some of the attractiveness of the countryside depends upon the narrow winding roads and lanes, with their hedges and trees or their plant-covered walls. In these, however, motor transport has become nearly impossible. Wide, straight roads have come to stay, whether or not they can be transformed into objects of beauty.

We can demand that the Planning Authorities, in siting such roads, should not destroy the old communications, and that the new roads should not damage beauty spots more than is absolutely necessary.

The importance of trees

Much can be done by the wise planting of trees, especially where the species are carefully selected to fit the needs of the particular locality. But *this requires the study of each scene by the planners.*

The immediate economic interest often favours the planting of quick-growing trees, like the fir and the pine, while a longer-sighted economy might favour the planting of slower-growing deciduous trees (those which shed their leaves in winter), such as the oak, the beech and the elm. Trees of both these types have their places in the landscape; what is most desirable to plant varies with the area concerned.

Much of Great Britain is already very well wooded, and in advocating increased planting of trees one has to keep in mind that tree-planting has its limitations. Many hill tops, or ridges, are shown to greater advantage by being without trees. This applies where the surface is rugged, and also where there are graceful curves, as on the Downs and in the limestone districts (T.L. 43-48). Trees are useful in hiding from view places which are useful but scenically unattractive, such as holiday camps, caravan sites, and some quarries. In other settings the bare rock of a quarry has its own attractiveness, as a contrast to the surrounding country (T.L. 56-57).

Experiments could be made in the use of flowering trees. Why not line sections of the new roads with such trees?

Why not plant fruit trees, as is done in some parts of the continent?

Wild flowers

Town-dwellers generally enjoy wild flowers and ferns, but in their treatment of them they tend to be ruthless. The rarer the plant, the greater the chance of its destruction. Wild flowers are protected by legislation, but this is often inoperative. To be effective it must have behind it a widespread popular determination that our wild flowers shall be preserved.

The practice has grown up in many urban areas of planting flower-beds by the roadside. The results are often happy, but not always so; the effects may be stiff and too formal. This suggests to the writer that experiments might be made in scattering the seeds of wild flowers in the hedges. Would such a practice make our roads look less drab?

Education

The preservation of the countryside depends largely on the *will* and *enthusiasm* of the people; these are essential, and they are largely the result of education. Enthusiasm and strong convictions on this matter already exist; our job must be to fan them into flame: to make more people lovers of nature, especially of that intimate humanized nature of which our British countryside largely consists.

If in the home the children find that this spirit animates their parents, they will probably develop similar attitudes. At school, by formal instruction and through the spirit animating the whole institution, young lives can become dedicated to the achievement of a beautiful motherland. Local Authorities, too, have responsibilities in addition to those of making and enforcing regulations; on occasions, perhaps with due ceremony, they have to embody this ideal. Here also is a worthy objective for those engaged in adult education.

The contributions made by various enactments and by private organizations are important, and the latter should certainly receive greater support than they do at present. More should be known of their plans and activities. Consider, for example, the National Trust, the Council for the Preservation of Rural England, the Footpaths Preservation Society, the Inland Waterways Association, the Youth Hostels, the

Garden Cities, the Green Belts, and the National Parks and Nature Reserves.

Improved design and increased control

Within the sphere of legislation and local administration much could be done to abolish three of the chief evils of the countryside: ribbon development, advertising and litter.

The modern practice of building houses, bungalows and shacks along considerable stretches of road, making the village or small town an uninteresting and often ugly sprawl instead of a compact entity, could be stopped, though not without difficulties, of course. There are three main causes of this village-spread: ideals as to what is a desirable standard of housing are higher; more retired people live in the country; and modern transport has made it possible to dwell in the country and work in the town.

Some advertising of local matters is legitimate, but most advertising in the country is, in the opinion of the writer, an abomination—whether or not the individual advertisement has merit in itself.

The law prohibits the leaving of litter, and many Local Authorities are providing litter-bins—which is excellent. What is now most necessary is a stronger sense of “litter-guilt”.

The ugly effect of pylons and electric cables could be greatly reduced if they were so designed and arranged that they followed the contour of the hills and did not pass straight over them.

Roger Miles, pointing out the importance of landscape architects, wrote in *The Times* (2.2.60):

“To design landscape positively to suit the needs of the twentieth century, instead of clinging to the relics of old patterns, is probably the only way by which we can leave a worthy heritage of landscape beauty for future generations to enjoy. Otherwise, it may happen that at the turn of the century sincere preservationists, still working on a financial shoe-string, will have succeeded only in eking out the beauty of the countryside to a vanishing point.”

What are *your* views on this? (T.L. 150-153.)

Waterways

Rivers are a delight—dashing along with power in the north, meandering in the south. To the rivers were added the

canals, which extended rapidly. Later a decline came in canal transport, followed recently by efforts to revive it.

Both rivers and canals have suffered greatly from pollution, which kills the fish, poisons the plants, and often produces large quantities of very dirty water. Detergents have added to these problems. There should be further legislation to prevent pollution, which is a danger to man, beast and plant.

“England’s green and pleasant land”

Until the time of the Industrial Revolution most of our villages were places of beauty, though their sanitation was bad. They were an integral part of the country scene. To many areas the spread of industry brought great changes, but others were affected only slowly. Village attractiveness depended upon many things—not all of them to be found in the same village, of course: the green, the river with its bridge, the church, the castle, the trees, the houses and shops. The buildings, however varied, seemed to blend and make a satisfying whole. Beyond the village, but almost part of it, were the green fields and the green hills, and often the mountains. Generally the skyline was irregular, but pleasing.

Into the harmony of many an old village has come the filling station, the large pretentious road-house, over-elaborate Victorian buildings, workshops, small factories and schools, and they do not seem to belong. The skyline has often been changed from a thing of beauty to an eyesore. Ribbon development is cutting the village off from the green fields. Our hope lies in a more imaginative control of developments, and in the new architecture—when our architects are more sure of themselves, and we, the public, have grown used to the strangeness of their buildings.

Wisdom consists in the clear recognition that we cannot now return to the countryside of Blake, Cobbett or Constable. The population has increased about fivefold since the beginning of the 19th century (see figure on page 136) and the additional population lives mainly in large towns or great conurbations. A considerable percentage of the population own cars and frequent visits to the seaside or the countryside have become a normal practice. This is part of our new age; and our pleasant land has to be studied and preserved against this background.

Questions for discussion:

1. How would you improve the new roads and motorways?
2. In what way would you try to create an interest in your local countryside?
3. Do you think the police should be empowered to fine litter-offenders on the spot?
4. Is *too much* control exercised over developments in the countryside?
5. Are you a member of the National Trust? (Subscription £1 per annum).

Suggested Books:

Tomorrow's Landscape. Sylvia Crowe. (Architectural Press. 21s.)
Contains many practical suggestions for the improvement of the countryside.

English Panorama. Thomas Sharp. (Architectural Press. 12s.)
An excellent, well-illustrated book.

Britain's Structure and Scenery. L. Dudley Stamp. (Collins. 30s.)
Deals largely with the geology underlying our countryside, and contains many lovely coloured illustrations.

Rural Rides. William Cobbett. 2 vols. (Dent.) From a library.
Gives glimpses of our countryside prior to the time when the full impact of industrialism had been felt.

Britain and the Beast. Various writers. (Dent. 1937.) From a library. Valuable essays and illustrations; but parts are somewhat out of date.

The Inland Waterways of England. L. T. C. Rolt. (Allen & Unwin. 25s.) An interesting study of our canals.

The Canals of England. Eric de Mare. (Architectural Press. 18s.)

Study Handbooks:

The following Study Handbooks might be consulted with advantage: 1958 (pages 77 to 84); 1953 (pages 116 to 125); 1949 (pages 115 to 121).

Section XIII

Our Water Supplies

NOTES BY ERNEST F. CHAMPNESS

Geology and climate

The geology of Great Britain is extraordinarily varied; this is important in considering our water supplies. A line drawn from the mouth of the river Exe to that of the Tees roughly divides Britain geologically into two parts. To the north and west of this line we have, on the whole, ancient and hard rocks with much high land; south and east of it the geological formations tend to be more recent and the average altitude lower.

The predominant winds blow from the south-west; they are moisture-laden. The moisture in the form of rain, snow or hail is largely deposited on the high lands of the west and north, leaving the rest of the country less amply supplied. The average annual rainfall in the Fens, for instance, is under 25 inches, while that in parts of the Welsh mountain area is well over 100 inches.

The hard rocks do not readily absorb water; from the mountain sides it falls into the valleys, but the more porous rocks absorb it readily. The evaporation of the water is an important factor, especially in the lower-lying districts, and particularly during the warm summer months.

Increased use of water

During the last few centuries the quantity of precipitation has remained fairly constant, but the demand for water has increased immensely. Why?

1. The population of Great Britain has rapidly grown, as also has the percentage of the people who live in towns, where the demand for water per head has been greater than in rural areas. Consider the following table:

Population of Great Britain

Year	Total population	Town population	Percentage (town)	Rural population	Percentage (rural)
	million	million		million	
1801	10·5	3·1	29·5	7·4	70·5
1861	23·1	12·7	55·0	10·4	45·0
1901	37·0	28·4	76·7	8·6	23·3
1951	48·9	38·9	79·6	10·0	20·4

2. Prior to the Industrial Revolution industry made only small demands on our water resources; since then such demands have rapidly increased. Now huge quantities of water are needed, in addition, for chemical processes, cooling, agriculture and horticulture, and even for our green lawns. Great difficulties have been caused by the pollution of much of our supplies.

3. In terms of water, our amenities are very expensive. Two centuries ago much of the water was taken direct *by the users* from rivers, springs or wells. Relatively few houses then had bathrooms, flush lavatories, or inside supplies of tap water. Improvements in these matters have come slowly; it is only in very recent times that we have begun to feel the great pressure of the demands of domestic users.

One authority, while maintaining that the quantity of water used varies greatly from place to place, gives the following figures for its over-all use:

not metered 27 to 30 gallons per head per day.
metered 15 gallons per head per day.

It must also be remembered that much water from outside our water supply system is used for factories, for agriculture and for houses in isolated places. It is taken from private wells, from springs, and from rivers and canals.

In America demands of over 100 gallons per head per day are not uncommon.

Supply and abstraction

The heat of the sun on water (sea and fresh) causes it to evaporate into the atmosphere, where it is held until changes in the temperature and wind movements cause it to be again precipitated on the earth in the form of rain, snow or hail.

This cycle is not quite complete, as there is a small loss of water; its oxygen combines with other elements in the formation of various rocks.

There is ample rainfall in Great Britain to supply all our needs for water, if the major part of the rainfall could only be utilized, but this is not yet possible; the greater part of the water is lost at present, in so far as the supply is concerned. If the rain falls upon impervious rocks it is rapidly thrown off and it descends to feed the rivers. In such cases the catchment of the water is much easier than if it falls upon ground into which it readily sinks. In the former case, high valleys can be dammed and large artificial lakes constructed from which the water can be released as required.

Rain falling on gravel or sand percolates through until its downward path is stopped by impervious material. Here the water collects, and such accumulations can be tapped by wells. The overflow from the saturated rocks provides springs which become the sources of streams and rivers. On the lower ground many banked reservoirs have been constructed. The largest-scale example of this is to be seen in the Thames Valley from Staines to Hampton.

A special case is the series of calcareous rocks, ranging from mountain limestone to chalk. These can absorb large quantities of water, largely through the joints and fissures which characterize them. The nitrogen held in the water has a chemical effect on the rock, which it tends to dissolve. This accounts for the caverns, which are interesting features of limestone areas. These caverns tend to connect up and frequently underground rivers flow through them. This special property of limestone and chalk has an important place in our water economy, as it provides a supply which is readily used.

The complexity of the geology of Great Britain involves a similar complexity in the working of the water industry. Our water is abstracted from many sources: rivers, lakes, wells and springs. The nature of the sources varies from district to district according to the geological and geographical factors.

An important factor is that the rainfall of Great Britain is not constant throughout the year. In Britain the dry period during the summer months—if it exists—creates major problems. The average rainfall for the British Isles over a period of 25 years was for May 2·6 inches, while for December it was 4·7

inches. A very dry summer, like that of 1959, shows how augmented this trouble can become.

Water works

The use of aqueducts as well as wooden and leaden pipes goes back to antiquity, but our organized methods of supplying water are of fairly recent origin. For instance, cast iron pipes were first used about 1817; steel pipes date from about 1893; plastic pipes (for cold water) are just coming into use.

When collected at the waterworks the water is normally unfit for use, especially for drinking purposes. It has to undergo two types of purification: *mineral*—small grains of matter in the water, and salts, etc. held in solution; *organic*—algae (minute plants), microbes and viruses, which exist in the water.

At the works the first stage is to store the water, during which many of the microbes die out; then it is passed through large filter beds which remove many of the mineral impurities and some more of the organic ones. Other impurities are removed by the chemical treatment of the water, the use of chlorine for this purpose being very important.

When a given degree of purity has been achieved by the technicians, the water is ready for consumption, but constant tests have to be made to ensure that the required degree of purity is maintained. Of special importance are the tests for *bacillus coli*, the presence of which indicates the probable contamination with faecal matter from man or animal. The discovery that some diseases were water-borne caused great attention to be given to this aspect of our water supply.

Among the problems of the water engineer is that of the height of the water when the processes of purification have been completed. If the water stands at a greater height than the places to be served, it can probably be distributed by gravity; otherwise, a system of pumping has to be employed.

(A visit by your members to the local waterworks would greatly help in your understanding of the processes and problems involved).

Economic aspects

The methods of providing an efficient water supply required the expenditure of vast sums of money for the construction of reservoirs, dams, waterworks, and piping, etc. Numerous water companies were set up in many parts of the country, each seeking a monopoly in its own area. Later,

many towns were granted the authority to organize and control their own water service. In the case of London, a special utility corporation, the Metropolitan Water Board, was established in 1903, on a non-profit basis, to manage the water supply for an area of about 560 square miles around London. The population served is about 6,500,000.

The total capital expenditure involved in the water industry has been estimated at about £600,000,000. This covers several forms of organization: small private companies, public companies, municipal enterprises, and a utility corporation. Behind all are the Acts of Parliament of 1875, 1878 and 1936, aimed at creating greater efficiency in the industry, reductions in the number of authorities and the setting up of regional boards.

The Stock Exchange Official Year Book gives the number of public limited liability water companies as 68. In addition, there are still many times this number of private companies engaged in this work. For a large number of towns the supply is under municipal, or other, public control. By 1953 there were 55 joint water boards.

The charge to consumers for non-metered water supplied by water concerns has, since 1847, been made on the basis of the annual rateable value of the property served. Considering the high quality of supply, are not the prices charged for water very reasonable?

Problems of water shortage and storage

How can we obtain a greater water supply? This means, in the first place, how can we be sure of an adequate supply during a dry summer? There is no easy answer; problems of large capital expenditure are involved.

More water could be obtained by boring fresh and deeper wells, but in some areas so much water is now being abstracted that the height of the water table (the distance below the surface at which the rocks are saturated with water) is falling. It has been said that for the centre of London the water table has fallen by about 200 feet in a century—surely a danger signal! Again, additional water could be taken from the rivers, especially from those which so far remain untapped, but even here there may be difficulties. The heavy draining-off of water from a river could damage the appearance of the countryside. At times may we not here have a conflict of values—health and industry versus beauty?

Considerable use is now being made of canals for the storage of water. With the improvement of the canals their function as reservoirs could be extended.

The collection of water on the highlands and the storing of it in large artificial lakes, must be further developed. Here, again, there may be a clash with the demands for countryside preservation (T.L. 60-71). The construction of artificial lakes involves some destruction, or it may be alteration, of our amenities. The reservoir-valley-lakes *can* have a beauty of their own, if carefully planned with this object in mind. In any case, in a densely populated industrial land, there may come changes which we just have to accept, and in so doing we may learn to discover in some modern constructions an austere beauty proper to an industrial age.

There are too many concerns engaged in the supply of water. The present piecemeal system is one extreme; nationalization, with centralized control, would be another. Would we not be better served by some rationalization of the industry, planned to make a wise use of the available supplies, with greater economy in administration?

Great Britain is surrounded by sea. Could we not obtain some of our supplies by converting sea water into fresh? So far, the processes involved have been too expensive to be operated on any large scale. At the end of 1959, however, there came reports from Israel of the invention of a very cheap process for effecting this conversion. Important results for us and others might follow. Further, attempts are being made to utilize the heat from the sun to effect this conversion; for the present, however, this method would apply only in the case of hot countries.

Questions for discussion:

1. Have you had any experience of water shortages in your district? If so, describe what happened.
2. How is your area supplied with water? Is the organization efficient?
3. Do you favour the nationalization of our water supplies, or do you consider that a few regional utility corporations, or some other form of organization, might do the job better?

Suggested books:

The Nation's Water Supply. W. G. V. Balchin. (Geography. Vol. XLII, Part III. July 1957.) An interesting short account of some aspects of this subject. (From a library.)

The Nation's Water Supply. R. C. S. Walters. (Ivor Nicholson and Watson. 1936. From a library.) A comprehensive study of water supply problems, though somewhat out of date now.

London's Water Supply 1903-1953. Composite authorship. (Staples Press. From a library.) A history of the Metropolitan Water Board.

Visual aid:

A Wall-chart (30 in. by 40 in.), price 6s., is obtainable from the Pictorial Charts Unit, 153, Uxbridge Road, London, W.7. It is entitled "Water Supply".

Section XIV

"An Enemy of the People" (Ibsen)

NOTES BY GEORGE H. NEDDERMAN

An Enemy of the People, Henrik Ibsen. Everyman's Library, No. 552 (Dent. 6s.). This translation has been used as being the most available. The William Archer translation (Heinemann. 1907) can be obtained from a library. The first four volumes of a new translation of Ibsen was announced in June, 1960 and described by critics as "better than Archer"; perhaps "An Enemy of the People" may be published by the time these notes are to be used.

Note on Method. Although presented as only one study, the notes include a selection of passages from the play, and it is hoped that Schools will read them *before* taking the study itself. A *free date* is associated with this section in the suggested scheme.

Ibsen

Henrik Ibsen was born on March 20th, 1828, the son of a wealthy merchant in the little seaport of Skien in South Norway. Unfortunately his father became bankrupt when the lad was eight years old and the family was forced to live in a small house out of the town. In the rigid caste system of stern suburban respectability, poverty was as mean as wealth had been lavish. The grave sensitive child felt it very keenly. At sixteen he was apprenticed to an apothecary at Grimstad and from that time he rarely saw his family. He deeply resented the fact that merchants and others shut their doors on apothecaries' apprentices and other "common people". To improve his lot he studied for university entrance, and in those studies read Cicero's Orations on the Cataline conspiracy. In Cataline, hating and despising Roman society, where self-seeking and intrigue and cunning held sway, he saw himself, and dramatized the story, afterwards going to Christiania (now Oslo) to try to get it published.

At 22 he became manager of the new National Theatre in Bergen at a salary of £67 a year. There and later in Christiania he lived for several years in great poverty, writing plays, mostly on folk-lore, which passed unrecognized. In his early thirties he was so disgusted that he decided to leave Norway. He lived in several European cities, chiefly in Germany. His play "Brand", a satire on pietism, brought him some recognition, and presently his poverty was somewhat relieved by the grant of a pension of £90 by the Norwegian government, though he still continued to satirize Norway.

He was fifty when he wrote "A Doll's House". The respectable citizen is again unmasked—this time in relation to his wife—and again Ibsen emphasizes his sense of the value of the individual: a woman should even abandon her children rather than surrender her individuality.

The world was shocked, and Ibsen asked, "Do children benefit by the mother's surrender in living a lie in marriage?" His answer was "Ghosts". Pastor Manders had advised Mrs. Alving to live a lie, to do evil that evil might not come, and remorselessly Ibsen pointed out the consequences. Tampering with truth was always abhorrent to him. He felt strongly that if men begin to lie for the sake of ideals, others will soon begin to lie for interest. Indeed, he seems to ask, is there any essential difference between lying for spiritual comfort and lying for physical comfort?

"An Enemy of the People"

To the foul personal abuse showered on him when "Ghosts" appeared, Ibsen replied with "An Enemy of the People". He wrote it quickly and easily and enjoyed the writing. "Dr. Stockmann and I got on well together—we agree on so many things—but the Dr. is a more muddle-headed man than I." It was immediately successful and has been frequently played all over the continent of Europe. It is lighter and more humorous than most of Ibsen's plays.

The story

Dr. Stockmann has recently returned to his native Norwegian town as Medical Officer at the newly-erected public baths. It was his idea that baths should be built, though they were not built according to his plan. As a result of their

opening the town is rapidly becoming a fashionable watering-place, and he is the town's hero.

When the play opens he has just verified what he has feared for some time, that the water flowing into the baths is contaminated by sewage and therefore poisoned. Like Ibsen, Dr. Stockmann stands uncompromisingly for truth. When he is sure the springs are contaminated he must say so. Nothing must stand in the way—the wrong must be made right. The Mayor and officials may oppose—stagnationists always do—but the liberal-minded press and the people will force them to act.

Dr. S.: "The water is absolutely dangerous to use, either internally or externally."

Mrs. S.: "What a mercy you discovered it in time?"

Dr. S.: "You may well say so."

Hovstad: "And what do you propose to do now, Doctor?"

Dr. S.: "To see the matter put right—naturally."

Hovstad: "Can that be done?"

Dr. S.: "It must be done. Otherwise the Baths will be absolutely useless and wasted. But we need not anticipate that: I have a very clear idea what we shall have to do . . .

All the conduit-pipes will have to be relaid."

Hovstad (getting up): "All the conduit-pipes—?"

Dr. S.: "Yes, of course. The intake is too low down: it will have to be lifted to a position much higher up."

Petra: "Then you were right after all."

Dr. S.: "Ah, you remember, Petra—I wrote opposing the plans before the work was begun. But at that time no one would listen to me. Well, I am going to let them have it, now."

The representatives of the liberal press hail his discoveries with delight, but largely because they see a chance of "getting at" the officials. They assure him that he will have the compact liberal majority behind him. But, when they find that his scheme will involve them in expense, they quickly accept the Mayor's "doubts" of the truth of his discovery. The Mayor "doubts" because his own prestige is at stake—an inquiry would reveal that he was responsible for modifying the Doctor's original scheme. The tradesmen fear that visitors will be frightened away. All the important men of the town see loss before them. They join with the Mayor in preventing the doctor from stating his case and they destroy his public meeting.

It is this situation which causes Dr. Stockmann to turn from the subject of cleansing the water supply to cleansing the moral life of the town.

People matter

Ibsen believed that in every human being slumbers the germ of a mighty unconquerable soul, human individuality. It is a man's duty to develop that individuality to its full powers, for its own sake. The first condition of the development is that he shall be free to be his whole self, without surrender to the world. The spirit of compromise is death. And lest the sacred personality of the individual be sacrificed he would have us keep guard against the dangers that are in every relationship of life—even in friendship and marriage.

The Mayor

But this argument cannot be used to uphold the petty jealousy and self-seeking of Peter Stockmann.

Hovstad: "Yes, they (the baths) owe their existence to him (Dr. S.)"

Peter: "To him? Indeed! It is true I have heard from time to time that some people are of that opinion. At the same time I imagined that I took a modest part in the enterprise."

Hovstad: "But who denies it, Mr. Stockmann? . . . I only meant that the idea of it came first from the doctor."

Peter: "Oh, ideas—yes! My brother has had plenty of them in his time—unfortunately. But when it is a question of putting an idea into practical shape, you have to apply to a man of different mettle, Mr. Hovstad." (Act I.)

"If I perhaps guard my reputation somewhat anxiously, it is in the interests of the town. Without moral authority I am powerless to direct public affairs as seems, to my judgement, to be best for the common good. And on that account—and for various other reasons too—it appears to me to be a matter of importance that your report should not be delivered to the committee." (Act. II.)

Majorities in democracy

Dr. Stockmann (Ibsen) is so passionately certain of the value of the individual that he overstates his case ludicrously.

"The majority has *might* on its side—unfortunately: but *right* it has *not*. I am in the right—I and a few other scattered individuals. The minority is always in the right."

"What sort of truths are they that the majority usually supports? They are truths that are of such an advanced age that they are beginning to break up. And if a truth is as old as that, it is also in a fair way to become a lie, gentlemen."

We shall agree that the ideal government is that in which the individual has complete liberty, without tyranny from others and without injury to others. Democracy in practice is not an altogether perfect form of government, but it is probably the best we have yet evolved, and it can fulfil two functions of government fairly adequately. First, if it is a live force, it will provide conditions under which men can develop freely, and it will therefore tend to produce men of ideals in advance of itself. These people, by their qualities of leadership, may be able to prepare the democracy to take its next step in evolution, or they may come up against its second function. By the majority vote a democracy has the power to restrain the extremist, to prevent an enthusiast from rushing society into conditions it has already outgrown or into conditions it has not yet grown up to. Thus democracy provides for continual advancement and at the same time maintains a stable government by refusing to be rushed into change.

Dr. Stockmann and other advanced idealists often feel frustrated when they see how far behind them the rest of their countrymen are, and in their impatience they rail against democracy. When they do so they are confusing the means by which democracy works (i.e. majorities) with its aims—the creation of leaders, the implementation of ideals, and the maintenance of stability. And even though the truths the majority is prepared to accept to-day are the truths idealists preached yesterday, they are at least higher than the truths the majority accepted yesterday. "The truths of which the masses now approve are the very truths that fighters at the outposts held to in the days of our grandfathers. We fighters at the outposts no longer approve of them."

The sad fact is that those of us who pride ourselves on our open-mindedness and our desire to better the world are often the most unwilling to accept new truths. This is the source of Dr. Stockmann's scorn of the liberal majority. For the official progressive party is always the greatest enemy of the extremist, who, it fears, is endangering stability. And the extremist's anger against the compact liberal majority is the anger of the reformer against the masses who are educated enough to have a vote but not educated enough to know how to use a vote. We need to be constantly reminded of the danger of worshipping majorities—complacently sheltering behind the notion that the *status quo* is what the majority wants and the world is not yet ready for further advance—instead

of working to make acceptable ideals that majorities should be employed to achieve.

Conclusion

Ibsen is a satirist—a maker of destructive criticism. And a satirist, like a caricaturist, employs exaggeration to force the truth. We can only infer what he approves by digging for the reverse of what he attacks.

An Enemy of the People is one of the keenest, most masterly, most witty and most compelling plays of its age, and is deservedly popular.

Questions for discussion:

1. Is a man justified in pursuing a policy he morally approves if it means bringing hardship to his family?
2. What should be our attitude to a frustrated reformer well ahead of his time? Sympathize with him? Encourage him to build for posterity? Suggest that half a loaf is better than no bread?

Act I

- (a) P. 147. *Peter S.*: "Taking one thing with another . . ." to p. 148 " . . . to a man of different mettle, Mr. Hovstad."
- (b) P. 152. *Peter S.*: "By the way, Hovstad was telling me . . ." to p. 154. *Mrs. S.*: " . . . Now every one must help themselves."
- (c) P. 159. *Dr. S.*: (waving the letter) . . . to p. 162. *Dr. S.*: " . . . and tell her to take it at once to the Mayor."

Act II

- (d) P. 169. *Aslaksen* (bowing): "Excuse . . ." to p. 172. *Dr. S.*: " . . . Good-bye, goodbye."
- (e) P. 147. *Peter S.* (comes in from hall): "Good morning, . . ." to p. 185. . . . to end of scene.

Act III

- (f) P. 186. *Billing*: "Well I must say! . . . to p. 186. *Billing*: " . . . the devil of a nuisance."
- (g) P. 188. *Dr. S.*: "Well what do you think of my article, Mr. Hovstad?" to p. 190. *Dr. S.*: " . . . good-bye, good-bye."
- (h) P. 196. *Aslaksen*: "I say—Mr. Hovstad . . ." to p. 200. *Aslaksen* opens for him and shuts after him.
- (i) P. 202. *Dr. S.*: "Oh, I understand. . . ." to p. 206. *Mrs. S.*: " . . . I am going to stand by you, Thomas!"

Act IV

- (j) P. 209. *Aslaksen*: "I think we ought to elect . . ." to p. 217.
Dr. S.: ". . . The minority is always in the right."
(k) P. 223. *Hovstad*: "It almost seems . . ." to p. 224. *Aslaksen*:
". . . to be an enemy of the people."

Act V

- (l) P. 246. *Dr. S.*: (snapping his finger) . . . to p. 247. to end.

Section XV

Landscape in Painting

NOTES BY ERNEST SHIPP

(a) "LANDSCAPE INTO ART"

If we visit an art gallery to-day we shall find that the majority of the pictures on exhibition are landscapes. To many of us a picture means a representation of some aspect of nature; but this was not always so. There was a time in European art when landscape was not merely the unusual thing; it was the unknown thing.

In this study we are attempting to understand how this great change has come about. A love and acceptance of nature plays a very significant part in our lives, and the artist can help in our awakening to the beauty with which we are surrounded.

Early glances at the outside world

There was a time in the early centuries of the Christian era (to go back no farther) when nature was a very frightening thing. It can be so to-day, with all our knowledge. Art reflects man's attitude to things, so it is not surprising that, in a day when nature threatened, nature was shut out. Gradually, at first in the kindlier south of Europe, a window is cautiously opened upon the outside world. Work for the Church then occupied the hand of the artist, and here and there—as in the *Madonna* by the 15th-century Flemish painter, Robert Campin—we are given a glimpse of the fields and rivers through an opened window; or we are even shown a wide stretch of the countryside, but as a background to the main theme of the picture (see "*The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*", by the brothers Pollaiuolo—15th century Florentine).

Ways of presentation

The artist has interpreted nature in different ways throughout the centuries. In the very beautifully illustrated church books of the medieval period the scale of things and their shapes differ entirely from those of the modern viewpoint. Men are seen to be looking from houses, the men being as tall as the house; a tree is placed upon a mountain and it is as big as the mountain. Moreover, both tree and mountain are drawn to a conventional pattern.

(i) *Symbolism*. Symbolism and its language must not be looked upon as an inferior art; there are no such things as inferior and superior types of art (there is, of course, better or worse execution). Let it be admitted that these artists had not the techniques that have since been perfected. They expressed themselves in symbol. A certain shape *stood for* a mountain, another shape *stood for* a tree, and so on. Symbolism is a characteristic of the miniature paintings in the Psalters and Missals written and illuminated in the monasteries during the medieval period.

The fear of the unknown led the medieval artist to seclude his view of nature, in some place set apart, enclosed, the quiet garden, in which he could set his scene, untroubled by the rough world. There is here a reflection of the monastic view that played so large a part in mediaeval society. Outside, beyond that garden wall, are the jagged forms of rock and mountain, the dark places of the wood, the terror of the waters.

(ii) *Idealism*. The great change came with the Renaissance, when man turned his face to the unknown. Leonardo da Vinci made careful studies of what falling water actually looked like, and although his rocks and grottoes are drawn to a formula, the formula is based upon natural form.

There were still those who sought ways of escape, one of which was to idealize nature. Mingled with the idea of a utopia beyond was the tradition of a golden age in the past, and in the landscapes of Giorgione, Titian (Venetian painters, 15th-16th centuries), and later, the French painter Claude Lorraine (born 1600), the Arcadian, idealistic view of nature is to be seen. There is a certain musical quality in this work: as Walter Pater wrote, "life is conceived as a sort of listening". Shepherd and swains, park-lake landscape and the almost inevitable colonnade of a temple, are the stock-in-trade.

(iii) *The natural vision.* This is landscape painted as the artist saw it, with, of course, his own interpretation. Remember also that all landscape painting is something of a compromise with nature. The naturally painted landscape is the painting of the scene before one's eyes, but it is something more: it is fact transfigured by love. The British artists of the 18th century were natural vision painters, men who went into the countryside and painted what they saw. In the water-colour gallery at the Victoria and Albert Museum at Kensington, and elsewhere, is the record of their work. The British School excels in this presentation of landscape. As time went on that "something more" became more pronounced. The creative, imaginative power of the artist became triumphant, as it is seen in the landscapes of Girtin, Turner, Gainsborough and Constable.

(iv) *Romanticism.* The Romantic Movement was not confined to painting, nor indeed to one period, although its hey-day was the later part of the 18th and early 19th centuries. As in poetry and music and much else there was an expression in painting of a great overflow of feeling, of imaginative power, a state of excitement and expectancy in the view of life and of nature.

In the painting of landscape this finds expression in the sense of atmosphere, of weather and of movement, as in the work of Constable. There is mystery and vision and a significance beyond the immediate presentation of a scene. It is present in the vast suggestiveness of Turner's landscapes, as also in the mysterious quality of Whistler's "Battersea Bridge" (Tate Gallery). It is a complete break with the formal, the static, the carefully reasoned statement in word or colour, that characterized the Classic school of art.

The artist in revolt

The work of the idealists and also of the romanticists tended to lead thought away from the realities of life. It has been contended that the subjects with which art should be concerned must be of an exalted kind. But the facts of life were none too pleasant in the 18th and 19th centuries and there were artists who said so. The terrible satires of the Spanish artist Goya are an extreme case, but there were others who dealt in a realistic manner with the ordinary day-to-day facts of human existence. Such was Courbet, whose pictures of

the life in the district around Ornans in France shocked the accepted opinions of his day.

In like manner the Impressionists of the later half of the 19th century brought a new, and at first unacceptable, set of values into art. Landscape painters for the most part, they took their canvases into the open air, and so brought a new sense of light and colour into painting. Some, like Seurat and Sisley, were concerned with the scientific aspect of colour, but all were occupied in presenting the movement of light upon surfaces, whether of buildings (Monet's "Rouen Cathedral"), water, (Manet's "Argenteuil by the River"), or a street scene (Pissarro). Constable, who had been told by old Benjamin West, his tutor, to "remember, light never stands still", had some responsibility for the movement, for it was his "Hay Wain", exhibited in Paris, which had had a marked influence in this direction upon French painting. Turner also had a passion for the painting of light, and in his later work dissolved all shapes in the all-pervading colour of light itself.

This loss of outline, lack of form, brought in turn further revolt, in which the outline was restored—even violently in the case of the work of Vincent Van Gogh. His landscapes are aflame. The tremendous excitement that he felt in the face of nature is to be seen in his "Cypresses" (Tate Gallery). Cézanne spent his long life in careful search for the truth about light upon surfaces. He wished to restore depth, solidity, to objects, and his landscapes show a characteristic, cube-like form, all treated as planes of light. When Cézanne paints an apple, he puts a strong line round the form, to emphasize its shape, solidity and separateness from its surroundings.

Fantasy

There have been those whose imaginations have run riot with the forms of nature. These have created the world of fantasy. As in literature there are hobgoblins and the weird and wild forms of elf and sprite, so it is in painting—in many cases with a definitely satirical or social purpose. Europe has known its horrors, both man-made and springing from nature itself, and the sense of menace has found a place in the treatment of landscape. Terrifying demons swarm in the religious pictures of Grunewald the German painter in the early 16th century. Dürer, also a German, has a grinning death behind a tree, and in the work of Altdorfer nature itself

is full of menace. Leonardo da Vinci can be quite frightening in the boiling mass of cloud in his Deluge drawing, apart altogether from the horror of his Medusa's head, with its twisting mass of serpents. Pieter Brueghel also, a master of landscape (Flemish, 16th century), painted some terrifying fantasies, and in our own day we have seen the strange dream-like pictures of Salvador Dali, the spiky horror of Graham Sutherland, and the vast cataclysmic pictures of Paul Nash, who could "look at a knot of wood until it frightened him".

To-day we have the world of the scientist impinging upon that of the artist. The microscope and telescope have opened up new vistas. The ordinary scale of things has gone, and worlds that are beyond the scope of the human eye are appearing in the new landscapes of the infinitesimal.

Beyond Europe

Never before have there been so many opportunities to become acquainted with the art of other peoples. There is Persian painting—with its lavish use of colour, its ornament and patterning; the mystery and wonder of India; and the exquisite work of the people of the Far East. There is nothing more lovely than the delicate two-dimensional painting of the Chinese, with the remarkable insight these artists have into the form of animal, bird, tree and flower.

The above notes are based upon Sir Kenneth Clarke's *Landscape into Art* (Penguin 369. 5s.), which contains over a hundred reproductions of pictures illustrating this theme.

(b) THE NORWICH SCHOOL

Introductory

The word "school" as applied to painting indicates a group of artists bound together by a common purpose (e.g. "Impressionist") or by ties of nationality (e.g. "Flemish", "Dutch", etc.), by a period of time, (e.g. "the 18th century"), or by association with one place (e.g. "Florentine", "Sienese", "The Norwich School"). In all instances it will be found that the particular group is influenced by the circumstances or environment in which the group works. The artist being one who is particularly sensitive to the feelings of time and place,

it could not be otherwise, and this quite irrespective of the subject of which he treats. Rembrandt's religious picture of the "Woman taken in adultery", for example, is a typical work of Dutch art of the 17th century.

When we come to look at the pictures of the Norwich school we are brought into touch with East Anglia at the end of the 18th century. It is true that in the work of Cotman we are taken "topographically" into Yorkshire and Wales and elsewhere, but the spirit in which they are painted is that common to the Norwich school.

The situation of a city like Norwich at that time was very different from what it is to-day. The difficulties of travel and of communication with the centres of art and learning, the limitations of acquiring culture in the city itself, were very great. On the other hand there would be the local interest in the city, with its noble Cathedral, and its tradition; and the character of the surrounding countryside, the river life and scenery were, by the very fact of isolation, more intensely felt. All this had its influence upon the men who became the artists of the Norwich school.

There is a certain affinity between the flat Norfolk landscape and that of Holland, and it was to the Dutch and Flemish artists, particularly Hobbema, that young Crome turned in the years when he was learning to become a painter.

John Crome, 1768-1821

The circumstances of Crome's early life were those of the son of poor parents, struggling gallantly to become an artist. As a first step he became apprenticed to a sign painter, and in such a rough and ready way became acquainted with brushes, oil and paint. In these early days he made his own brushes, and there is a story of his use of his mother's apron as a canvas.

There were those who helped him forward. Thomas Harvey, who had a collection of Dutch and Flemish work, gave him access to these, a very important matter where there were no art galleries. Harvey introduced him to the portrait painter Sir William Beechey, who was later elected to the Academy and became a court painter.

Crome's struggle as an artist then began. Like Cotman, he became a drawing master in order to make ends meet; unlike Cotman, who hated it, he cheerfully accepted this side of his

work, particularly as it brought him, always a very friendly man, many friends. Among those pupil-friends were the members of the Gurney family, including Elizabeth (afterwards Elizabeth Fry).

He came to London as a visitor in 1806, and exhibited at the Royal Academy. But apart from the difficulty of getting to London, his love and interest were in his native Norwich, and there in 1803 he and his friends formed the Norwich Society "for the study and practice of painting, architecture and sculpture". They held their first exhibition in 1805—one of the first provincial exhibitions of art.

His method

Crome was greatly influenced by the Dutch masters, making a careful study of Hobbema and Ruysdael. He also made copies of the works of Richard Wilson. The fresh and naturalistic treatment of landscape he caught from the Dutch masters; the nobility with which he treats the simplest scene is that of Wilson.*

Crome's method was to make sketches out of doors, and to these he brought careful observation and great powers of draughtsmanship. From these he worked up the finished picture in oils in his studio. To-day, when careful drawing is discounted, Crome's sensitive line should be particularly noted. There is nothing finicky about his work, but he had an eye for detail, and he knew exactly how to set it down. Apart from his paintings, his etchings of the East Anglian scene are very fine, etching being invariably the test of skill of hand and power of observation. He went abroad to Holland and Belgium, and travelled to Wales and the north of England. All this resulted in some good painting, but it was his native Norfolk which inspired his finest work.

The pictures

Crome's pictures are to be seen in many galleries, particularly in his native Norwich. The London galleries (National, Tate, Kenwood) have some famous works. "Mousehold Heath" (Tate Gallery), is one of the grandest things he did.

* Richard Wilson (1714-1782), a British artist who began as a portrait painter, but after a stay in Italy turned to landscape. Unacceptable in his own day, his landscapes have since been acclaimed as the work of a master.

It has an air of brooding majesty, and, with all its solemnity, wonderful gleams of colour. He told his pupil, Stark: "If you paint a muscle, give it breath" (the word intended was "breadth"), and here in this picture is *breadth*. It has been said of his pictures that there is too much Hobbema ("Hobbema, Hobbema, how I have loved you", he cries). The "Mousehold Heath" is pure Crome, however, and landscape painting at its best.

"The Poringland Oak" (National Gallery) is another masterly view of nature: the great tree in its splendour against a sky of light and movement, the shadowy pool, and, giving proportion to the tree, the group of boy bathers in the foreground—the smallest figure is that of Michael Sharp Crome, the painter's youngest boy. In looking at this picture we can understand what is meant by the term "an envelope of light", for the light covers everything and penetrates into the shadows. The man who painted that tree first loved it, and painted it out of his love.

John Crome is called "old Crome" to distinguish him from his artist son, but there is endearment in the term.

John Sell Cotman, 1782-1842

Cotman was a very different kind of man from John Crome. Whereas Crome accepted his lot with equanimity, was happy, carefree, friendly, even somewhat improvident, Cotman was a highly nervous type, morose even to depression at times, with bitter feelings that his work failed to get the recognition which it should have had, and which in fact it gained after his death.

He was an associate of Crome and an artist of the highest order. He painted principally in water-colour.

He, too, was born in Norwich, was educated in the city, and was destined for his father's drapery establishment. But young Cotman had other ideas. He became attached to the artist Dawson Turner, and with him went up to London. Here he met Girtin and the other and greater Turner, and the group of artists who practised at the house of Dr. Munro.

With Girtin he toured Wales and Yorkshire, and it was in Yorkshire that his genius showed itself in a series of water-colours done in the country of the River Greta. He returned to Norwich, joined the Norwich Society, married, and set up as a portrait painter. In this, as in his landscapes, masterly

though these latter were, he failed to make sufficient money for his family needs, and eventually set up as a drawing master. His letters make tragic reading: "My views on life are so completely blasted that I sink under the repeated and constant exertion of body and mind. Every effort has been tried without even the hope of success."

His work and style

Cotman was a consummate draughtsman. Like many of the artists of his time, as a young man he made drawings illustrating the English scene. Later, upon his return to Norfolk, he settled down for twelve years at Yarmouth, and here he painted some splendid pictures of the sea and of shipping. "Wherries on the Yare" (National Gallery) shows his power, his great gift of design, his spaciousness, his sense of light and atmosphere. Visiting the continent he painted many architectural works. "He had the gift of converting the driest architectural subjects into pictures," wrote one critic. The limitation of water-colour is that the medium lacks depth, solidity. This Cotman attempted to redress by mixing in paste, but in doing this he lost the freshness, the translucence, which was one of the outstanding qualities of his work.

A marked characteristic is the quality of design, amounting to reducing his planes of colour to something of a pattern. In some of the Greta series he has a favourite device of repeating the arch of a bridge as a reflection in the water below. In the lovely "Drop Gate" (Tate Gallery) there is a very definite patterning of the leaves and railings. Great as is his understanding and appreciation of all that is in nature, everything is eliminated that does not add to the ordered poetry of his scheme.

The picture "The Dismasted Brig" (British Museum), the brig riding the broken sea, is a masterpiece. It is a splendid weather-picture, with magnificently painted clouds. The whole scene, storm-tossed as it is, is yet simplified in characteristic Cotman style.

Some of his greatest works, which now hang in the National Gallery, were sold for a few shillings, and poor Cotman, knowing their real worth, became a bitter, disappointed man. It is good to know that in his later days he settled down to a measure of comfort. Through Turner's influence he had been appointed Principal of Drawing at

King's College, London, but he always spent the vacations in his beloved Norfolk, painting to the very last weeks of his life.

Other Members of the Norwich School

John Birnays Crome. Not up to the stature of his father. His early work, when he had his father's eye upon him, is the best. A skilful artist, much given to painting moonlight scenes.

John Thirtle. Cotman's brother-in-law. Has a delightful picture (in the Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington) of a boat passing under a bridge.

George Vincent. Apprenticed to Crome. His masterpiece is "Greenwich Hospital", exhibited at Norwich in 1811 "after Crome".

Miles Edmund Cotman followed his father rather exactly, but John Joseph, a younger brother, was more independent and made some fine original drawings.

Postcards of the work of Crome and Cotman can be obtained at the British Museum, the Tate Gallery, The National Gallery, and the Medici Society, Grafton St., London, W.1.

Recommended Books:

John Crome and John Sell Cotman. Laurence Binyon. (Macmillan.)
(From a library.)

A Century of British Painters. S. and R. Redgrave. (Phaidon.
10s. 6d.) Chapter 25.

Section XVI

Buddhism

NOTES BY W. ARNOLD HALL

If people really matter, it matters that so many of them are burdened. "One thing only", said the Buddha, "do I teach—sorrow, and the uprooting of sorrow." Strangely enough, the Buddha did not believe in the permanence of an individual self or soul; yet he was filled with a boundless compassion for all individuals.

These notes can do no more than provide an *introduction* to the vast subject of Buddhism, which began as a philosophy and an ethic but after the Buddha's death became a full-orbed religion—with gods (the Buddha himself and other buddhas), a system of worship, and a church. The student, as he passes from one book about Buddhism to another, will find that the account given by one authority may differ from that given by the next. Buddhists, too, differ among themselves, just as a Roman Catholic and a Quaker would be likely to give very different accounts of Christianity. The attempt is made in these notes to give a general view of the subject.

Buddhism is almost extinct in India, the land of its birth, and has been so for many centuries. But it became a missionary religion and spread to China, Japan, Tibet, Burma, Ceylon and Thailand (Siam), and to-day numbers well over 150 millions of adherents.

Note on method:

These notes could be read in School, particularly if the subject is quite new (as is likely) to the members. But it is better (as always) if they are read first privately at home and then considered in School, whether read out there or not. Perhaps few Schools will wish to give more than two meetings to the subject, so the notes are presented in two studies. But there is ample material for many sessions. A treatment in *five* sessions could be as follows: (i) The Four Noble Truths, (ii) Three underlying doctrines, (iii) Precepts and stages, (iv) The Scriptures (with selected readings), (v) Later developments.

(a) THE FOUR NOBLE TRUTHS

Siddhartha Gautama the "Buddha" (i.e. the "Enlightened One") lived from about 560 to 480 B.C. (though some place him sixty years earlier). No biography of him was written till at least 400 years after his death. A famous Council, convened by King Asoka about 250 B.C., drew up a list of accepted Buddhist scriptures, but the biographical material did not come till later. (So too the Epistles of Paul preceded the Gospels, though the latter appeared within a generation of the events which they recorded.) Like Jesus, Gautama himself wrote nothing. The biography abounds in legendary embellishments—a supernatural birth of a virgin, heavenly hosts proclaiming it, and so on.

The story of Gautama's princely childhood of luxury and ease, of his marriage at 16, and of the deep discontent which settled upon him at twenty-nine, is told in many accessible text-books. His teaching certainly did not stem from a background of early privation and bitterness: he had lived in material plenty, found it empty, and renounced it. Four sights deeply oppressed him—a decrepit old man, a sick man, a corpse, and a calm ascetic. He became possessed of the inherent misery of all living and desired to discover abiding peace. He set out alone, in quest, having renounced home, family and possessions and having exchanged his clothes with a beggar.

The Buddha's Enlightenment

At first he fell in with a band of hermits, though they were philosophers rather than ascetics. They impressed him. They advocated the way of Knowledge and Speculation. The metaphysics of Hinduism were their speciality—the doctrine of the Ultimate One and of one's union therewith. But this Way did not continue to satisfy Gautama, so he turned next to asceticism, the Way of self-mortification and salvation through voluntary pain. It is said that in this period he lived on one grain of rice a day, for six years. But in due course this Way also failed him. Then one day, as he sat under a banyan tree, he saw the light, suddenly: he saw misery and evil for what they really were—their nature, and their cure. And he enunciated the "Four Noble Truths", a gospel in four propositions:

1. All existence involves suffering, sorrow, unhappiness, fear, separation, bondage, decrepitude.

2. The cause of suffering is selfish desire*—desire for pleasure, for existence, for prosperity.

3. Suffering can be cured by ending selfish desire.

4. Selfish desire can be ended by following the noble Eightfold Path—the path of Right Understanding (or Belief), Right Aspiration (or Purpose), Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Livelihood, Right Effort, Right Mindfulness, Right Concentration.

All who take this path become “buddha”, enlightened, and are released from the wheel of REBIRTH. They attain NIRVANA.

Such a message may seem pessimistic, judged from the first “truth”; but since the message offers mankind a cure, it may equally be considered a message of hope. The view of life, however, is pessimistic; only the message of deliverance is one of hope.

The Eightfold Path

Gautama called the Eightfold Path the “Middle Way”, because it avoids the two extremes of asceticism and pleasure.

(i) *Right Understanding:*

Man is a creature of reason, even if of defective reason, and the Buddha allowed for this. By right understanding he was indicating the importance of belief (the words are difficult of exact translation into another language). “Any way of life” (Buddhist, Christian, or otherwise) involves or presupposes a belief about that way. In this matter the office of reason is not to furnish proof but *to give consent*: if our reason says NO, we shall not proceed with any confidence and soon we shall not proceed at all. The belief or understanding offered by Buddhism is the Four Noble Truths themselves.

(ii) *Right Aspiration:*

What is it that we value most in this world? What to us is the pearl of great price, worth more than all else? What is the dominant motive behind all we do? The Eightfold Path calls for one purpose—to overcome separateness, to identify oneself with the welfare of all, to attain liberation from selfish desire.

* For the view held by some that the Buddha referred to *all* desire, and not merely selfish desire, see his doctrine of “Dependent Origination”, into which these brief notes cannot enter.

(iii) *Right Speech:*

What we say is an index of character: awareness of it is an important step on the way to truth and on the way to charity. When we speak we aim so often to deceive others, to put them off the scent, through fear of their knowing what we really are or even of knowing it ourselves. Still worse, our speech may aim to injure, as in false witness, idle talk, abuse, even tactlessness or some kinds of wit. Attention to speech is important: it should at all times be the language of courtesy.

(iv) *Right Conduct:*

As with motive (aspiration) so with deed, selflessness and charity are imperative. With this in view, FIVE PRECEPTS are prescribed for all, both monk and layman—*not to kill** (most Buddhists are vegetarians), *not to steal*, *not to lie*, *not to be unchaste* (sexual restraint is extolled), *not to take intoxicants*. These five precepts are called by Buddhists the "Pancha Sila", the five don'ts; and they are constantly rehearsed. (Later Buddhism prescribed 5 more prohibitions for the monk.)

(v) *Right Livelihood:*

One's occupation should be considered carefully. Does it promote or hinder one's progress towards release? Ideally, the discipline of the monk should be undertaken, but the layman also must take care. The Buddha was specific and listed certain occupations to be avoided—*butcher, brewer, weapon-maker, dealer in slaves, prostitute, tax-collector, and others*. Whatever his occupation, the disciple must remember that earning a living is a means and should not become an end.

* The Buddha's own personal anguish on this subject is well described by Sir Edwin Arnold, in his descriptive poem *The Light of Asia*:

Looking deep, he saw

The thorns which grow upon this rose of life:
How the swart peasant sweated for his wage,
Toiling for leave to live; and how he urged
The great-eyed oxen through the flaming hours,
Goading their velvet flanks; then marked he, too,
How lizard fed on ant, and snake on him,
And kite on both: and how the fish-hawk robbed
The fish-tiger of that which it had seized;
The shrike chasing the bulbul, which did hunt
The jewelled butterflies; till everywhere
Each slew a slayer and in turn was slain,
Life living upon death. So the fair show
Veiled one vast, savage, grim conspiracy
Of mutual murder, from the worm to man,
Who himself kills his fellow; seeing which—
The rage to live which makes all living strife—
The Prince Siddhartha sighed. "Is this" he said,
"That happy earth they brought me forth to see?
How salt with sweat the peasant's bread! how hard
The oxen's service! in the brake how fierce
The war of weak and strong! in the air what plots!
No refuge e'en in water. Go aside
A space, and let me muse on what ye shew."

(vi) *Right Effort:*

In spite of its passivity, Buddhism makes demands on the will, on effort. Even to think steadily and persistently about the Eightfold Way requires effort, and to follow that way calls for it likewise. Long-term steady effort is more fruitful than spasmodic spurts and impulses, as experienced climbers well know.

(vii) *Right Mindfulness:*

The Buddha thought in terms more of ignorance than of sin when assessing obstacles to deliverance. "All that we are", he said, "is the result of what we have thought." "Ignorance is the father of all suffering." The knowledge he emphasized, however, was *self-knowledge*, so that one discerns the important elements in living from the trivial. A degree of self-psychanalysis is advocated, and for this purpose special times should be set aside when, free from distractions, awareness may be enlarged and deepened. Silence and solitude are important.

(viii) *Right Concentration:*

After analysis and meditation comes concentration, when the mind reaches the still point and rests in it. Thus absorbed the moment of "enlightenment" will come, as it came to the Buddha himself under the Bo-tree. In the ensuing moment of illumination the practitioner sees reality not as it has so often appeared but as it is. Awareness of truth becomes immediate, directly apprehended; thought itself has reached its goal. The self has "arrived" at its salvation: delusion, craving, enmity are at an end.

Although some 150 years elapsed before Gautama's teaching was committed to writing, few doubt that the mind of the master lay behind, and was substantially author of, what was later written.

Three underlying doctrines

It has been said that the Buddha's aim was always practical, not metaphysical. Indeed he was tantalizingly silent on questions of ultimate reality: such questions, he said, "tended not to edification". His own aim was to help people to change their lives and secure inward release from "craving". Nevertheless matters of doctrine are implied and they constantly arise in the mind of the serious student. Three such doctrines, implied in Gautama's teaching even if not explicitly expounded, are those of the **Self**, of **Rebirth**, and of **Nirvana**. They are difficult doctrines, to which a life-time of thought

can be devoted. Amid much that remains nebulous and uncertain, a few clear points emerge from the documents:—

The doctrine of No Soul

The Buddha denied the existence of an individual "self" in the sense of an individual "soul" which is permanent and which passes from one life to another. Indeed the "Three Signs of Being", as they are called by Buddhists, are those of "Evanescence, Suffering, and No Permanent Soul". In order to appreciate what may be meant by this doctrine—the "anatta" doctrine—it is necessary to recall the fundamental ideas of Hinduism in which Gautama himself had been reared.

Hinduism had affirmed the permanent identity of the individual self or *atman* which passes on from one life to another by a process of *re-incarnation* or *transmigration* according to the law of *Karma*. Karma means "deed" and thus stands for retribution. "Not in the sky, not in the midst of the sea, not in the clefts of the mountains, is there known a spot where a man can be freed from an evil act." If our deeds have been good we shall be reborn in the next life in some higher status or form, perhaps in a higher rank of society; but if our deeds have been evil, we shall be born again in a lower status, perhaps in that of an animal. Indeed man and animal are related in one upward and downward gradient. Through hundreds of years the individual soul—the *atman*—may climb back to a level once forfeited until, on reaching sainthood as it were, one is released from the long cycle of birth and death, and one becomes united with Brahma, the All: the dewdrop slips into the shining sea. The Buddha took over much of this Hindu doctrine, especially the idea of the law of *Karma*. But with this difference: for the Buddha only "deeds", not doers, live on. There is no entity such as "soul" or "self" which lives on. This is a difficult concept to grasp, and a 5th-century A.D. Ceylonese Buddhist sought to explain it thus:

"Just as a chariot wheel rolls only at one point at a time and rests only at one point at a time, so the life lasts for only the period of one thought."

The Buddha himself, too, said that the term "chariot" is but a convenient word for wheels, shaft, pole, axle, and banner-staff; so the soul is just so many desires and tendencies.

If that be so, it is not an entity in itself. If we speak at all of a soul, therefore, we must think merely of the totality of desires which occur in a single life.

We may well ask—how can there be desire without a “self” which desires? How can there be experience without an experiment? The difficulty has prompted several Western scholars to undertake fresh research into the subject and some of them (e.g. the late Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids) declare that the Buddha did after all imply that there is an individual “self”. The real difficulty may stem from the fact that he steadfastly avoided all such metaphysical questions as “not tending to edification” and he accordingly maintained a discreet (or indiscreet) silence on them when asked to explain. Silence may or may not give consent. Likewise Gautama never speaks of “God” but we cannot be certain that his thought was atheistic, but only that he considered the concept as unnecessary, tending to confusion (his later disciples brought the concept back, by divinizing the Buddha himself—who became a supreme object of worship, along with many lesser buddhas).

The doctrine of Rebirth

Gautama refined upon the Hindu notion of reincarnation, in line with his doctrine of “no soul”. There is no soul which passes on. He used the image of a flame, passed from candle to candle. Can the flame of the last candle, he asked in effect, be in any sense the flame of the first candle? There is obviously a connection between the two, a causal link, but there is no identity. Something takes place in consequence of what has preceded it, but what takes place is not that which went before. The candle which has gone out will appear no more. The Buddha therefore cannot speak of transmigration, the passage of a soul into another state; he can speak only of a new birth, of another unhappy chain of experiences, coming into being in consequence of the old one.

It is a difficult doctrine because, even if the new being is not the old, it is not unconnected with it, and in some passages the Buddha seems to discourage the idea of annihilation. There is no transmigration because there is no permanent identity of being; but there is rebirth. In the Buddha’s thinking, of course, rebirth is no prize; rebirth means another life (for all who, unenlightened as yet, have not eliminated desire) and all “life” involves “suffering”.

The doctrine of Nirvana

The reward of those who have succeeded in eliminating selfish "desire" is called by the Buddha "Nibbana" or "Nirvana". "Nirvana" means "a going out", as of a flame, and it has been generally assumed—and with good ground—that this ending of the miserable cycle of existence (which only the monk, anyway, would be likely to obtain) means absolute annihilation—ceasing to be. Certainly it meant, in the mind of Gautama, peace and deliverance. And that his followers believed that it meant that they would cease to be is plain from the fact (see next study) that many of them decided to *postpone* that supposedly beatific moment and were content to be merely "bodhisattvas" (i.e. buddhas-to-be) instead of buddhas. "Nirvana" is passionless peace, whether of extinction or not. The Buddha himself said: "The wise, who have destroyed the seeds of existence, go out like a lamp."

Here again some Western scholars, unable to rest in the concept of annihilation, after investigating the original teaching of the Buddha as recorded, claim that in fact "Nirvana" had a positive meaning, not a negative one. It means boundless life itself, they say, unutterable bliss: what is extinguished is not life itself but only private desires. There may well be passages in Gautama's teaching which might support such an interpretation; but equally there are many more which support the older understanding of it*. Fundamentally his view of life was *pessimistic*, and his concern was to point the way to release from it. If life is better ended, Nirvana must have meant the blessedness of such cessation.

The big threes

(a) The Buddha sent out his first disciples as missionaries. He gave them a simple formula for use in accepting converts

* Some other Western writers (among them the late Sir Francis Younghusband), anxious at all costs to make the world's great religions sing in tune, interpret "Nirvana" as the blessedness of union between the individual self and the World Self. This, however, was essentially the Hindu concept, and it was from Hinduism that the Buddha broke away. A recent warning from Cambridge, therefore, is timely: "The view may be put aside that the primitive doctrine was something different from what the Buddha's followers for over 2,000 years have held it to be" (E. J. Thomas). Dr. Sidney Cave, too, emphatically says: "There is no idea of communion with the Great Soul of the Universe—a thought quite alien from that of early Buddhism."

into the Buddhist fold. To this day the three-fold formula or creed—the **Three Jewels**—is repeated by millions:

*I take my refuge in the Buddha
I take my refuge in the Teaching
I take my refuge in the Order*

The recital is frequently preceded by the Praise of the Buddha, which runs:

Praise to the Blessed One, the Perfect One, the fully Self-Enlightened One.

Then will often follow the recital of the Pancha Sila or Pansil (the Five Precepts: see above).

(b) Note also the **Three Fires** of Buddhist teaching: sensuality, ill-will and illusion. These are the fires which feed "selfish desire", which lead to sorrow and to rebirth.

(c) Again note the **Three Signs of Being**, to which we have referred above: Evanescence, Suffering, No Permanent Soul.

(d) Above all stands the moral trinity of Buddhism—**Pancha Sila, Dana, Bhavana**—cease to do evil; learn to do good; cleanse your heart. For the Pancha Sila, see the Eightfold Path (above), point 4. With the five precepts, however, Buddhism conjoins the more *positive* injunctions of *charity* or *benevolence* (Dana) and *cleansing of heart* (Bhavana), just as Christians add Eight Beatitudes to the Ten Commandments. *Dana*, it is said, means "brotherhood in thought, word and deed", at once love and good works, positive and active helpfulness. *Bhavana* is the call "to discipline and purify the mind" by meditative exercises, as prescribed in points 7 and 8 of the Eightfold Path.

The big fours

Supreme of the fours, of course, are the Four Noble Truths themselves. But Buddhism prescribes also **Four Stages of Advancement or Release** from the Ten Fetters (see below). These are: *Entering the stream*, which leads to the ocean of Nirvana. This stage brings liberation from the first three Fetters; *Returning once more only*, signifying liberation from the next two Fetters; *No further return*, which marks the accomplishment of the first two stages; *The path to sainthood* or Arhatship, which brings release from the remaining five Fetters and brings the disciple to Nirvana.

The big five

If there be no soul, what is it that holds life together in the case of each individual? The Buddha referred to five forces or skeins which perform this cohesive function—the **Five Skandhas**: body, feeling, perception, will and consciousness. Our question as to an “I” which experiences these elements may remain. The Buddha regarded them as a heap, no more integrated than grains in a sand pile, and all of them giving rise to the sorrow which he outlined in the First Noble Truth.

The big six and the big ten

The highly moral nature of the Buddhist ideal is seen in what is required not only of a buddha but of a bodhisattva (see above). Six “perfections” are sought by the latter: the aim is not merely to admire but actually to attain in respect of Virtue (Pancha Sila), Charity or Benevolence (Dana), Forbearance (Kshanti), Fortitude (Virya), Meditation (Dhyana), and Knowledge (Prajna). The West has no monopoly of moral ideals. The *Eightfold Path* itself makes this clear, and still further emphasis is provided in the doctrine of the **Ten Fetters**. The buddhist aims to find release from: (i) the delusion of self; (ii) doubt (regarding the teaching); (iii) belief in rites and ceremonies; (iv) sensuality; (v) unkindliness; (vi) desire for formal living; (vii) desire for formless living; (viii) pride; (ix) self-righteousness; (x) ignorance. (The four stages of Release from these fetters are described above.) Which of us in the West is winning on any one of these moral fronts?

An ideal of unaided effort

Buddhism knows no doctrine of divine grace. The moral ideal it espouses is laid upon its adherents as something which they can and should achieve by unaided application to it, a step at a time, by meditation and practice.

The “Sutta Nipata” (a late but not unreliable scripture) includes what is called the *Discourse of the Supreme Blessings*, which, so far from giving anything, speaks only of achievements:

“Not to serve the foolish; good works done in a former birth; right desires in the heart; self-control and pleasant speech; to follow a peaceful calling; to bestow alms and give

help to kindred; to abhor and cease from sin; abstinence from strong drink; not to be weary in well-doing; reverence and lowliness; contentment and gratitude; to be long-suffering and meek; to associate with the tranquil; self-restraint and purity; knowledge of the Four Noble Truths; realization of Nirvana; the mind that shakes not under life's changes, without grief or passion, and secure."

When the Buddha sent out his sixty disciples, he gave them this commission:

"Go ye now, O monks, for the benefit of many, for the welfare of mankind, out of compassion for the world. Preach the doctrine, glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, and glorious in the end."

His *last* instructions to his disciples are contained in the "Sutta of the Great Decease":

"Be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp, hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to anyone besides yourselves."

Questions for discussion:

1. "Buddhism has a charm for the West not so much because of its positive teaching, but because of what it does *not* teach." (Maurice Cranston). What do you think this means, and do you agree with it?

2. "To see things as they are, without illusions or ignorance, is to experience the extinction of craving, which is called Nirvana." (Cranston). Can you accept Buddhism that far?

3. What do you think the teaching of Gautama the Buddha and the teaching of Jesus Christ have in common and what do you think are the main differences? Are the common elements alone true, or has the Buddha's teaching some patent truth to offer?

4. The Buddha was actuated by a profound compassion for all mankind, indeed for all life. Can we match his compassion in the West?

(b) BUDDHIST SCRIPTURES AND DEVELOPMENTS

The language

Traditional Buddhist texts were available to the West in the Sanskrit language only, but early this century older texts in the Pali dialect of north-central India came to light.

The late Mrs. Rhys Davids argued that even the Pali texts were not the oldest, but they are the oldest we have. They are based on documents mainly of the first century B.C.

The Three Baskets

The Scriptures of Buddhism are the *Three Baskets* of Wisdom, the *Tripitaka*. Much of these scriptures is still untranslated. The full text would run in length to four times that of the Bible. Of the twenty-nine divisions, the shortest is of ten pages, and the longest 1,839. For many years transmission was by word of mouth only. King Asoka, about 250 B.C., convened a Council to settle the canon of accepted material at that date. The first English translation of any scripture was by Max Müller in 1870—the *Dhammapada*, or *Way of Virtue*.

The first basket, the *Vinaya Pitaka* (i.e. Discipline Basket) gives the 227 rules of the Buddhist monks, repeated by the faithful in assembly once a fortnight. The second basket, the *Sutta Pitaka* (i.e. Teaching Basket) records the reputed words of the Buddha himself. The third basket, the *Abhidhamma Pitaka* (i.e. Metaphysical Basket) contains abstruse and intricate elucidations of Buddhist psychology and doctrine. There is also much non-canonical Buddhist literature, in Sanskrit. The Three Baskets do not contain any biography as such of the Buddha.

The second basket, the *Sutta Pitaka*, is naturally of chief interest to us. It consists of five collections (Nikayas). The following analysis may be useful:

- I. The LONG Suttas (Digha Nikaya)—including "The Sutta of the Great Decease".
- II. The MEDIUM-LONG Suttas (Majjhima Nikaya)—arranged according to subject.
- III. The GROUPED Suttas (Samyatta Nikaya)—arranged according to subjects or persons, and including Gautama's first sermon about the Wheel.
- IV. The NUMERICAL Suttas (Anguttara—i.e. "adding one"—Nikaya)—in eleven groups, each group speaking of its own number of things, from one to eleven.
- V. The SMALLISH Suttas (Khuddaka Nikaya), mostly late but containing some very old material, including:
 - (a) *The Metta Sutta*, on the meaning and use of love (part of a Manual of Buddhist life).

- (b) The *Dhammapada* (26 chapters, 423 verses), a manual of ethics based on complete self-reliance, working out one's own salvation.
- (c) The *Udana* and the *Itivuttaka*: ethical and philosophical prose and verse.
- (d) The *Sutta Nipata*, noble in thought and language.
- (e) The *Theragatha* and *Therigatha*, or Psalms of the Brethren and of the Sisters, songs of delight and peace on attaining release.
- (f) The *Jakata Tales*—birth stories of the Buddha, tales of his 547 previous births.

In addition to the Tripitaka, which are accepted by the "Lesser Vehicle" or Theravada School (the "Way of the Elders", representing the earliest Buddhism: see below), there is a vast literature of the Mahayana School, giving their own version also of the scriptures, in the Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese languages. One group of Suttas in the Mahayana scriptures is the famous "Diamond Sutta".

The two "Vehicles" of Buddhism

There are two main branches of Buddhism—Hinayana and Mahayana, i.e. the Lesser Vehicle and the Greater Vehicle. The Lesser Vehicle, also called "Theravada" (or "The Way of the Elders") sought to remain true to the original teaching of Gautama himself and the early Buddhists, and to avoid all unprofitable speculations on secondary matters. The Greater Vehicle, which is by far the larger, most popular and most widespread form of Buddhism, sees in the Buddha not only a teacher but a divine saviour—pre-existent, sinless, redeeming, eternal. As such he is worshipped as a divine being, and Buddhism is become therein a religion. The ideal is no longer to win release for oneself but to be of service to others. It is essentially a religion for *laymen* rather than for monks.

"Instead of Buddhism being a way by which a few might reach Nirvana, the goal of Nirvana is *postponed* and men are bidden instead to become a *Bodhisattva* (i.e. a Buddha-to-be, a future Buddha) and meanwhile not to try to work out their own salvation, but to put their trust in the many exalted Bodhisattvas who, instead of entering Nirvana, are engaged in the service of others." (S. Cave).

Thus Buddhism becomes a missionary religion, taking the Message (or a modified version of it) to others and postponing beatitude for the missionary in order to do so. Unfortunately something is lost as well as gained, so far as the original teaching is concerned. Something very like polytheism is introduced and heaven and hell are realistically portrayed. Gautama the Buddha himself becomes a God; morality becomes something of a ritual; mere obeisance to The Buddha becomes enough to save one's soul. Nirvana, no longer Perfect and Passionless Peace via the Eightfold Path, becomes a physical post-mortem heaven which can be achieved by so much as kissing the toe of an ikon. Splendid Temples are now raised, with sacrifices to idols of the particular Buddha selected.

The "Lesser Vehicle" is found to-day only in Southern Asia—in Ceylon, Burma and Thailand (Siam). The "Greater Vehicle", beginning about A.D. 150, has flourished far and wide in the north, carrying Buddhism extensively to China and Japan. Both Vehicles, of course, share the doctrine of The Four Noble Truths. Mahayana Buddhism may be said to have prevented Buddhism from turning in upon itself (it has virtually died out in India, the land of its birth); but at the price of some radical departures from its Founder's doctrine. Ashvagagosha (about A.D. 100) is generally named "the Father of Mahayana Buddhism", at any rate in the literary sense as author of "The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana". But the famous Emperor of India, King Asoka (about 250 B.C.), was the first, perhaps the outstanding, Buddhist missionary of Mahayana Buddhism.

With the adoption of the Bodhisattva ideal of Mahayana there arose a problem about the meaning of Nirvana. The matter is perhaps best clarified in a statement by E. A. Burtt:

"Paradoxically put, the spiritual insight here is that to renounce Nirvana for oneself, in love for others, is to find oneself in Nirvana, in its real meaning."

The Sects of Buddhism

Theravada Buddhism has maintained its unity as a single tradition, but Mahayana Buddhism has been split into a large number of sects. In China and Japan the sects multiplied rapidly. In these countries they exist alongside Confucianism, Taoism and Shinto, and they may be said to meet some longings which those three religions ignore. Their tendencies,

however, are radically inconsistent with the primitive Buddhist system, though "The Sutta of Brahma's Net", a well-known Chinese Buddhist scripture, certainly enjoins the original ethics—the greatest benevolence to men and animals, compassion being the chief virtue. It extols meditation and penitence, but also the duty to preach to others the way of salvation.

Less happy were the warring attitudes of the sects in Japan in the 16th century. "The monasteries were armed camps and their abbots military commanders" (S. Cave). Of the twelve principal sects, five may be named. The favourite Buddha is now Amitabha (or Amida), and Kwannon (or Kway-yin) the favourite Bodhisattva. The next Buddha—Maitreya—is expected to appear shortly and there are statues of him carved in the rocks.

The *Pure Land Sect* (Jodo), founded in the 12th century, seeks a Western type of Paradise, into which Amitabha will receive his worshippers largely by virtue of their merit. The *True Pure Land Sect* (Shin), on the other hand, affirms that entry into Amida's Paradise can be by grace alone, the grace bestowed by Amida. The *True Word Sect* (Shingon), founded somewhat earlier, is pantheistic in flavour and views Gautama and all Buddhists alike as manifestations of Vairochana, the eternal Buddha. Its favourite scripture is "The Lotus of the Good Law". The *Nicheren* sect arose as a protest against the dethronement of Gautama from the prime place. Nicheren (1222-1282) aimed at national religious unity. For him, there is one only Buddha, and he the eternal Buddha, namely Sakyamuni (i.e. Gautama, of the Sakyas). The "Lotus of the Good Law" is again the special scripture. Of special interest to-day is the *Zen Sect*, the School of meditative Buddhism, which arose in the 12th century and sought to realize "the unchanging self" by self-disciplines.

Zen Buddhism has become immensely popular in recent years in certain intellectual "beatific" circles in America and now also in Great Britain. Mr. Christmas Humphreys is himself a leader of Zen Buddhism. Zen is a Japanese word for Meditation. The aim here is to escape from the distinction in experience of subject and object, of knower and known. It seeks to pass beyond the intellect to immediate awareness of the all-embracing Void or (others say) of the the Cosmic Consciousness, and to achieve this by strenuous preparation and self-effort. To "burst the mind-barriers of selfhood";

to overcome the limitations of language: to "crash the word-barrier": these are the stated objects. The methods include seated postural meditation, for hours at a time, and the use of koans or problems, seemingly absurd to us; the flash of insight follows in due course, the sleeping mind is awakened from its dream of reasoning, the eternal now is realized, "divine ordinariness" is attained—and with it total acceptance, total agreeableness; the distinction between time and eternity is transcended, if only for some moments. Zen practitioners claim that it is the mind-state of Nirvana which the Buddha himself enjoyed and so sought to awaken in his disciples.

Common ground for Buddhists

In 1945 the Buddhist Society of London drew up a document entitled *Twelve Principles of Buddhism*, which was accepted in China and Japan as well as in Burma and Ceylon. It is printed on page 73 of the Pelican book on Buddhism listed below. Colonel H. S. Olcott, of the Theosophical Society, had previously drawn up a similar document in 1891 and that too is printed in the same book. Both are well worthy of study.

Questions for discussion:

1. When early (Theravada) Buddhism was superseded by the more missionary Mahayana Buddhism, Buddhism gained something and lost something. What would you say were the gains and what the losses?
2. A distinction is often drawn by Christians and in Adult Schools between the teaching of Jesus and the missionary faith of St. Paul. Is the distinction a valid one? Do you see a parallel in the differences between Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism?
3. There is a wide variety of Christians, many of them excommunicated by the others. Are there common elements shared by all? What common element or elements can you find between all the different kinds of Buddhists? Do they amount to much, as compared with the differences?

Suggested Books:

- An Introduction to the Study of Some Living Religions of the East.* S. Cave. (Duckworth. 1921. 8s. 6d.).
- What the Buddha Taught.* Walpola Rahula. (Gordon Fraser. 1959. 8s. 6d.).
- Buddhism: Its Essence and Development.* Edward Conze. (Faber and Faber. 1952. 6s. 6d.).

- Buddhist Scriptures.* Edward Conze. (Penguin L.88. 3s. 6d.)
Buddhism. Christmas Humphreys. (Pelican. 1951. 3s. 6d.)
Introduction to Zen Buddhism. D. T. Suzuki. 1949. (Grey Arrow. 1959. 2s. 6d.)
Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism. Ananda Coomaraswamy. (Harrap. 1935. 15s.)*
Buddhism. T. W. Rhys Davids. (Putnam. 1924. 7s. 6d.)*
The Teachings of the Compassionate Buddha. Ed. E. A. Burtt. (Mentor Books. 1959. 4s.)
Some Sayings of the Buddha. F. L. Woodward. (World's Classics. 1939. 5s.)
The Pocket World Bible. Ed. R. O. Ballou. (Routledge. 1948. 8s. 6d.)

There are many books on the World's Religions, and these contain expositions of Buddhism.

* Out of print now. From a library.

Section XVII

Towards the Relief of Suffering

NOTES BY MARGARET R. CUNNINGHAM

(a) MENTAL SUFFERING

It is only in this century that a beginning has been made in the understanding of *psychopathology*—the science of the sick mind. We have already had an introduction to the pioneer work of Sigmund Freud and his followers in "The Unconscious Mind" (*Free People*, 1959) and to its practical application in "The World of the Psychiatrist" (*Growing in Charity*, 1960). The aim of this study is to consider more closely the causes of unhappy states of mind, not only in those who are sick enough for hospital or clinic treatment, but in the many who carry on their daily work but whose lives are marred by underlying fear, anxiety, resentment, depression or persistent ill-health, generally unrelated to bodily disease.

The formative years

From birth to maturity (about 18 years), a growing child normally lives under the protection of his parents. We know that his body must be fed and his intellect educated; what is less widely known, even to-day, is that he should grow up emotionally also. As a tiny baby, the human child is completely dependent and his impulses and reactions are simple and primitive. He has to grow gradually to independence, social feeling and morality. He will learn by experience and training. The soil in which these growth changes best take place is the *loving home*. Children *need* to matter to their parents: they need to be loved and valued by them. In this lies all their feeling of security: it is the foundation of their steadiness and confidence in the coming years. That this is so is a matter of experience. It can be discovered in the phantasies of children deprived of their own parents. Anna Freud,

daughter of the great psychologist, tells us how, in the home she founded for infants under five years of age, who had been separated from their parents during the air raids of the last war, she tried to bring mother-love to the children by allotting a little group to each of her assistants for complete care. The babies soon became deeply attached to their new "mothers" whom they regarded as their "very own"; but occasionally a girl would leave to be married and there would be woe in her little flock. The shock would be doubly great for those children who had already lost a real mother by death or abandonment. Their trust in their foster-mother's love for them would be shaken because she had left them. Such a mental wound may be the root of an expressed conviction in adult life, "I am always unlucky in love." When faith in the ultimate value has been so early shaken, such a person finds it difficult to believe in the love of God.

The rôle of the parent

Thus parents and adults in charge are, from the very beginning, mediators of love. Children, being new to the world, are, of course, very suggestible and absorb with scant criticism any impressions or ideas they get from their elders. Parents are the children's first *love objects*. They represent typical Man and Woman—the King and the Queen, the Sun and the Moon of dreams and fairy tales. Their marriage is the picture of all marriage; so that a child may grow up feeling that "marriages are made in Heaven" or that "marriage is all a gamble" according to what his experience has been at home. Parents also represent *moral authority*. It is their ideas of right and wrong, their codes and values, that the children will accept—to venerate or to react against, according to the circumstances. They will tend to feel about representatives of authority in the future as they once felt about their parents. Parents are also *guides* and can convey an atmosphere when they answer a child's questions. They can be natural, confident and sincere, which is reassuring; but when they have fears and reticences of their own they sometimes show shame, uncertainty or evasion, which may be very disturbing to the young. Difficult questions are often those connected with birth and sex, God and death. Not only may a child get the impression that there is something hidden, shameful or menacing in the universe, but he may feel guilty

himself for having put such a question, and the episode may be the beginning of a rift in the child's trust of his parent.

The Super-ego

This is the name psychologists give to the *ideal*—that goal of personality, conduct and achievement after which the individual strives. This essentially human attribute, which is gradually built up from the experiences of childhood, is an integral and progressive part of the personality.

If we think about it, we shall realize how much the proper development of this ideal depends upon the right balance between the natural self with its instincts and demands and the moral values set before us by the authorities. It is a balance that may become upset, either by underlying anxiety on the part of the parents or other adults (teachers, for example); or, perhaps, by a sense of deprivation in them. Anxiety may lead to over-severity or even to harshness in training. The child may then become over-anxious too, striving to please yet fearing to fail, with a mind so much in conflict that he is tied to himself by worry and remains dependent on an authority for guidance when he should be growing towards independent decision and confident living. He may develop an "inferiority complex", which means that he feels that he is an inadequate person. He may come to fear and despise his natural instincts, and may repress them into the unconscious part of the mind, i.e. pretend that they are not there and do not belong to him. So he is cut off from his roots, through which the life power springs. Or sometimes he may refuse an ideal which is harshly presented, give up the struggle and side with the primitive impulses. So he becomes a rebel. The balance may also be upset by a sense of deprivation in a parent, which may cause him to spoil his children. Have you ever heard a parent say: "I had nothing as a child, so I am trying to give my children all they want"? In spoilt children the ideal is often inadequately formed; and when they come to leave the shelter of the home they may feel a sense of frustration and of bitterness that the world does not treat them as they have learned to expect. This is a complicated subject, but Crichton Miller's *The New Psychology and the Parent*—a most readable book—will be found very helpful.

It must not be thought, though, that all repressed fears and conflicts spring from the parental situation. Anything

that causes a deep shock to the ego, anything that deeply wounds the pride or is felt by the child to be shameful and is hidden in his own mind, may become an active barrier to his fulness of life and contentment in living. A young married woman developed inexplicable fear, culminating in attacks of acute panic. Psychological treatment revealed that, as a very small girl, she had witnessed a murder, and was so terrified that she spoke of it to no one and, in due course, "forgot" it. But she saw life, as it were, through a haze of fear, until the care of a kind husband encouraged her to speak of what she felt. A psychotherapist was consulted and complete cure followed.

Nervous illness

In adult life the strain of conflicts originating in childhood will tend to deplete the energy of the sufferer and cause him to be preoccupied with himself. There may come a time when the strain will cause real illness; it often happens that an episode or an unforeseen situation, felt by the individual to be intolerable, will cause breakdown. Such breakdowns have a purpose of their own; they provide excuses for avoiding distasteful or difficult situations. Often, too, they bring care, kind attention and help, which the sufferer looks for. They vary in severity from "my bad head", which has spared so many from unwanted social occasions, to the distressing "shell shock" cases of the first war, which provided retreat with honour from the trenches, and hospital care. In the last war a woman air-raid warden, gallant and devoted to duty, had an underlying fear of what she might *see*. No one knew of the strain she underwent. One night a bomb exploded not far off. She was brought blind to the dressing station; but an examination of the eyes showed no injury. Appropriate treatment was given and she recovered. (Cf. "Psychology, Religion and Healing", Section Four, Chapter I, pp. 256-258).

For discussion:

1. Members' own questions and examples.
2. The story in the Bible reading. Consider it from a psychological angle. A man locked in paralysis 38 years does nothing for himself but waits for a supporter and a miracle. Jesus' question: "Do you really want to be well?" and the command "Get up and walk."

3. It has been said that the teen-age is the most important to the teacher, because "then you can *indoctrinate* them." Bearing the suggestibility of youth in mind and remembering the Nazi and Fascist Youth Movements, do you think this is altogether a wise aim? Can you suggest a better intention for the teacher?

(b) TREATMENT AND CURE

In this study we examine the psychological treatment of mental suffering. Psychotherapy is not always successful as a cure for breakdown, nor is it considered suitable for every type of case; but even where it is not applied, experience of it aids the psychiatrist in his understanding of and dealings with his patients.

Body and mind

Examine, if possible, the diagram given by Dr. Stafford Clark in *Psychiatry To-day*, Chapter 9 (see Book List). Even the most physical of afflictions may have a fraction of mental causation; and those illnesses mainly due to the conflicts and repressed complexes discussed in the last study are influenced by differences in temperament and physique. Further, there cannot be a change in emotional experiencing without a change in bodily secretion. If we are angered, for instance, more adrenalin is poured into the blood, the blood pressure is raised, and the muscles are tensed. Primitively, this was intended to prepare the individual for flight or fight; in modern life, where opportunity for expression may be lacking, a headache may ensue. It is increasingly realized to-day that some quite physical illnesses, such as asthma, gastric ulcer, some skin affections, tuberculosis, and perhaps even cancer, may have contributory mental causes. The study of these is called *psychosomatic medicine* and is, as yet, in its infancy.

Thus modern thinkers conceive of body and mind as two indivisible aspects of one individual, who is a body-mind organism. This differs rather from the idea with which many of us grew up, namely that the body and mind are two separate entities, the body being but the envelope for the soul and its tool and servant. Many scientists would agree, however, that the modern hypothesis is by no means final. In our dreams,

the body is often symbolized as a house, through the windows (eyes) of which the person (i.e. something separate from the body) may look. Further, when we consider the psychic faculty—now called *psi* by the researchers and whose perception is not that of the senses—we may ask ourselves whether the earlier conception is not nearer the truth. There are, however, medical men who regard the mind as a by-product of the mechanism of the body and who direct their researches and arrange their treatments from this approach. Others, perhaps, discount the body too much and may overlook some simple physical maladjustment while seeking every cause within the mind. Alexis Carrel, in *Man the Unknown*, gives supreme importance to the individual. "The individual projects on all sides beyond his anatomical frontiers", he writes. He deplores the assumption that man is a machine. "We have neglected thought, moral suffering, sacrifice, beauty and peace. We have treated the individual as a chemical substance, a machine or part of a machine."

Doctor and patient

A doctor, confronted with a broken leg, first puts it in alignment, then gives it rest; God, Nature, the Healing Power, does the rest. So with a broken mind: the therapist must first find the wound and then remove the obstacles to unity and expression; he must leave the Healing Power free to work. One of the signs of cure is that the patient realizes his wholeness, his fitness to function, and his own significance: he takes over the controls of his life and accepts his responsibilities. The word "technique" is often applied to the skill of the psychotherapist. If such technique is used as a demonstration of his own power and ingenuity, the treatment is likely to fail. Just as the true artist gives more than technique to his work, so the therapist needs to give that creative tenderness, sensitivity and care, which are the rights of a living, human individual. No man likes being dealt with as a machine; patients have broken off treatment before now because they sensed an element of exploitation and a lack of respect in the attitude of the therapist.

Psychotherapy

It is in the Unconscious Mind that the dangerous material is stored—memories of what originally caused feelings of

guilt, inferiority, fear or resentment. These are guarded from entering consciousness, where they would be too unpleasant to the personality. Ideas held in the Conscious Mind are often the direct opposite of what is felt in the Unconscious. One who deems himself virtuous may be concealing shameful memories; one who advertises his prowess may be compensating for a deeply felt failure. People even pride themselves on the sensitivity which gave them the neurosis! The process is unconscious to them; it is only the detached observer who can recognize the self-defence. The first object, then, of the psychotherapist is to get past the defences of the Conscious Mind.

There are various methods of doing this. As the patient tends to trust his doctor, suggestion alone may be enough. But resistance is generally too strong. *Hypnosis* has been used quite extensively in the past to suspend the critical consciousness and take a short cut to the contents of the Unconscious. It was found very useful in the first war, in order to get soldiers to speak of their terrifying experiences at the front. When a patient does pour out his underlying fears, it is often with great emotion. This is called *abreaction* and brings immediate relief of tension. Sometimes the fear or guilt expressed is of a purely childish nature and, when realized and shared with another human being, is seen in proper proportion and vanishes. Cure is then well on the way. Other cases need much longer treatment and most need some positive suggestions from the doctor, to take the place of the evaporated negative ideas. The house is swept and garnished, but must not be left empty for the seven other devils to take possession. But hypnosis is not so widely used in medical practice to-day. It is felt to have serious disadvantages, some of which will be readily appreciated. When a state of trance or semi-trance is required, therefore, drugs are used instead.

Psychoanalysis and how it works

Psychoanalysis, the method evolved by Freud, is the most comprehensive and educative of the treatments and the most significant for our purpose. It is really an emotional re-education, with a new authority or parent substitute—the analyst. The contents of the Unconscious Mind are reached by means of *free association*, the patient giving all the ideas, relevant or irrelevant, that occur to him. The starting point of

this is often the patient's own dreams, which are beautifully constructed, symbolic pictures of the emotional situation, thrown up by the Unconscious Mind. They give the present circumstances, reach back into the past, and suggest future developments and the lines on which the patient may hope to tackle his problems. They contain the primitive, the practical and the ideal. Their sequence shows the patient's progress and the changes in his relationship to his analyst. The giving of free association is not easy, and the patient puts up much painful resistance and tries to sidetrack in every possible way. But the analyst, probably aware of the nature of the trouble, guides the patient towards eventual discharge of the repressed ideas. Abreaction follows and, as past history is gradually remembered, the patient comes to realize himself and to understand others more sympathetically. He discards phantasy and accepts reality, taking control of his life as never before.

The second important characteristic of treatment by psychoanalysis is the emotional feeling of the patient for his analyst. This is called the *transference* and it *always* takes place, no matter who the analyst may be. That parents are the first love-objects of their children was noted in the last study. When an individual submits himself to a psychoanalyst for treatment he regards the doctor rather as a child regards his parents. He transfers to him the authority with which he once invested them and feels that the therapist will react to him and judge him in the same way that they did in his youth. He generally feels respect mingled with awe for the man or woman who will reveal the secrets of the mind.

The treatment is indeed interesting, especially the analysis of dreams, and the patient appreciates having so much attention given to himself and his troubles. He loves his doctor and hopes to be appreciated by him in return. He is said to have made a *positive transference*. Sometimes past experiences have caused a patient to shun any approach to his ego, or he may deeply resent the suggestion that he needs treatment. So he reacts with scorn and sometimes hate, and forms a *negative transference*. It is the business of the therapist to break down this barrier—if he can. Otherwise, the treatment cannot go on. Very seldom does the transference remain positive all through. The patient hopes for appreciation, and he will find it difficult to give over memories that show him in an inferior light. He will almost hate his doctor for the insistence with which he

demands them; but he has probably envisaged the ultimate purpose of the analysis and will have the patience to continue. The psychiatrist will explain his patient's actions and the motives behind them; he will correct false and negative impressions and will show him that he is not isolated with his feelings but shares the common experiences of all mankind. So he becomes whole again, with no rejected and repressed ideas working in the dark and making him feel separate; and with enough self-realization to free him from further dependence on his analyst. He can recognize his own motives and can sublimate and re-direct them when they are undesirable in their primitive form. He can steer his own course.

Group therapy

A new form of treatment is now being practised, which reduces the personal involvement of the patient with the analyst. It is called *Group Therapy*. A group of people, in Mental Hospital or Prison, meets for discussion. They tell each other all their feelings and reactions. A psychiatrist is in charge. He remains detached, but guides and explains and keeps the group in control. So members of the group come to realize their affinity with all men and something of the emotional dynamics that lie behind any community. This method of treatment is said so far to be very satisfactory. (See also Section XX.)

Suggestions for discussion:

1. The title of this book is the affirmation "PEOPLE MATTER". Is this a question of faith, or does the material of these studies indicate that it is a *fact* within the laws of life?
2. In what ways has the wider knowledge of psychology influenced our public life and our social services?

(c) RELIGION AND HEALING

There is a very wide interest to-day in what is variously called Divine, Spiritual or Faith Healing. The churches prefer the word "divine", because they want to emphasize that healing comes from God and that the role of any particular person in bringing it about is that of a servant to the Divine Will. "Spiritual" has been adopted by the Spiritualists, who hold that, while all healing comes ultimately from God, it is

implemented by his messengers in spirit, who have once lived on this earth but who now come back in what St. Paul calls "the spiritual body" (I Cor. 15. 44) to heal through certain gifted people called mediums, sensitives or instruments. The word "spiritual" is also used to imply that many illnesses are caused because the spirit of the patient is sick—sick because he needs to feel the love of God as an actuality. "Faith Healing" is also a popular term; but it is objected to by some because they say that, while faith is a help to the patient, it is not an essential; babies and animals also, who cannot exercise faith, are healed.

An old idea

That healing of this sort can and does occur is no new idea. Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066, a man of devout life, laid his hands on the sick and some of them recovered. (See "Macbeth", Act IV, Sc. 3, lines 140-145). This gave people the idea (though it has probably older origins) that healing power was with kings. Dr. Samuel Johnson, in the 18th century, was taken as a child to be touched by Queen Anne, for a skin affection, scrofula, which was popularly called "King's Evil" because it was said to be particularly amenable to the royal touch. Sometimes the spirit of a healer was thought to bring healing after his death. St. Swithin, Bishop of Winchester 852, had this reputation, and pilgrims came to his shrine centuries before they visited that of St. Thomas at Canterbury. Members may perhaps be able to contribute local stories of healing places and healers. Later years have seen the rise of Lourdes in the Pyrenees as a goal of pilgrimage for the sick from all over the world; this followed a vision and a promise to the young girl, Bernadette Soubirous, in 1858. In 1866, Mrs. Baker Eddy began to preach Christian Science, which insists on the spiritual nature of man and regards all illness as subjective.

Healing methods to-day

As Dr. Leslie Weatherhead says, the practice behind all religious methods of healing is to "use spiritual energies to cure diseases of body, mind and spirit". With this idea in mind, there are many *groups* all over the country who meet for prayer and concentration on behalf of named sick persons. Sometimes the patient, if he is able, is asked to keep the period

of quiet and prayer at the time when the group is meeting. Weatherhead gives an account of some of the best known, nation-wide organizations for this purpose. (See his *Psychology, Religion and Healing*, Section III, Chapter 6, p. 222.) There are many others, either privately run or attached to some organization. Individual healing is also given in the churches; sometimes the priest, minister or healer lays his hands upon the sufferer; sometimes holy oil is blessed and poured upon him. In some churches a period of preparation of the sick person is required.

At the same time there are many individual healers who are practising and who lay claim to a healing gift. They have only to touch the patient, they say, for healing to come in many cases; further, many of them state that even this is not necessary, and that the patient will show improvement and may look for eventual if not immediate cure if he will keep in touch with the healer by means of a weekly or fortnightly letter. The touching of the patient differs from the "laying on of hands" in the churches, in that the hands of the healer are laid on the affected part and retained there, or stroking movements are given as the healer is guided. Healing of this sort used to be practised in country districts, where the healer was called the "stroker"; to-day it is generally called "contact healing". Keeping in touch with the healer by letter—either written by the patient or by a friend or relation on his behalf—is called "absent healing."

Some criticisms

Some will ask what evidence there is that special power from God or direct intervention from the spirit world is operating at these healings? They will probably not deny that cures do take place; but how many, they wonder, are due to suggestion? People will take suggestions from those in whom they invest authority. There are those who, if they feel that healing is coming to them from a mysterious and divine source, or if they think that the healer is guided by a spirit from beyond the grave, or merely if the healer has a big reputation, will take suggestions of health better than they would from their general practitioner, who will give his with a prescription for a bottle and some tablets. Wishful thinking may also have a good deal to do with some of the cures; also the need for significance. The writer knows a woman who was

said to be cured at a large public demonstration by a well-known healer. Her photograph was in the papers. Now she says; "If ever I get well . . ." Patients are not always good witnesses. As any doctor knows, many have fantastic notions about what is the matter with them. When patients state that doctors could do no more for them, in at least a proportion of the cases the trouble may be of neurotic origin, which the physician feels to be beyond his scope. A patient who states that he has got well after "healing" might have got well in any case; for we do not always die when we are ill. Further, he may have been having medical treatment at the same time. For all these reasons, it is very difficult to get reliable statistics.

Beyond logic

Are we to conclude, then, either that these miracles of spiritual healing do not occur or that they are brought about by some well-known psychological factor such as suggestion? In many cases reliable records are difficult to obtain, but at Lourdes a real attempt is made to keep them. A detailed account of how this is done is given in *Psychology, Religion and Healing* (Section III, Chapter 2). Neurotic patients and those whose troubles are thought to be psychosomatic are not eligible to be considered as cases of miraculous cure. Only those suffering from serious organic illnesses, such as advanced cancer, or from gross physical defects like blindness, may be registered. If a cure is claimed, extensive medical examination is carried out and the patients have to return at intervals for check-ups. It is only after five years, when there has been no further sign of the trouble, that a miracle may be proclaimed. (See Appendices in *Psychology, Religion and Healing* for case examples.)

The healing gift

Is there, then, a healing gift? Are there born healers whose touch eases and sometimes cures physical ills? Or is this just a figment of imagination, fostered by people who crave power and distinction and know how to "put it across"? When hope and interest are widespread, there will, of course, be those ready to exploit it. If we have no direct personal evidence of a super-normal healing gift, we must needs turn to the evidence of others, and examples will be found in the books suggested. It is often accepted that people who have

attained faith, inner confidence and selflessness do radiate a power which is healing in itself; and it is easier to accept suggestion from people who, like Jesus, "speak with authority". That certain sensitive people have the power to locate physical troubles is a matter of experience. (See reference to the powers of Mrs. Bendit, in *Psychology, Religion and Healing*, p. 215). The reality of the *psi* faculty—telepathy, precognition and kindred powers—which some people have experienced in a small way at times in their lives, is accepted, and we recognize that some people possess this much more strongly than others.

As we consider this, we may ask ourselves whether such power is an inborn gift and whether those people are so constituted that they are more sensitive to promptings from Spirit, or the Greater Mind, or God. Are they being used by the Healing Power? A retired Minister, at a meeting about this subject, said that it had been his custom to "build up a condition of prayer" with the help of the family of the sick person, and that he had seen many wonderful cures when doctors had given up hope. Another, writing his memories in an article in a local paper, tells how, as a young man, he was called to a boy of ten, dying of meningitis. He was about to pray for a peaceful passing for the child and comfort for his mother, a widow, when: "While on my knees, the inner voice with the categorical imperative said clearly: 'Pray for his recovery.' Those who know the guidance of the Spirit know better than to disobey, however unusual the command . . . So I prayed, fervently and full of faith, for the lad's complete restoration to health. The boy opened his eyes, smiled at me, sighed and went into a deep sleep . . . The lad was out next morning, perfectly well and playing with his chums in the street." He ends his article: "There is something in Spiritual Healing, believe me. But with us, it was a matter of faith and prayer. No one seemed to have any special healing gifts."

Questions for discussion:

1. A direct experience of healing may be uplifting and converting, both for the one healed and for the onlookers. (See John 9. 3: "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God may be made manifest in him.") The prayer at Lourdes, when the patient is brought to the water, is: "Heal him/her for the conversion of sinners." How far do you

think that to find God is a stronger motive, in those who seek this healing, than to get well?

2. Can you suggest why there is a renewed and widespread interest in this subject to-day?

Suggested books:

Psychology, Religion and Healing. Leslie D. Weatherhead.
(Hodder & Stoughton. 25s.)

Psychiatry To-day. David Stafford Clark. (Pelican, A262. 3s. 6d.)

Man the Unknown. Alexis Carrel. (Pelican. A181. 3s. 6d.)

The New Psychology and the Parent. H. Crichton Miller.
(Jarrolds. 1921. 6s.)

The Quest for Healing. Godfrey Winn. (F. Muller. 10s. 6d.)

A Doctor Heals by Faith. Christopher Woodard. (Parrish,
12s. 6d.)

The Living Touch. Dorothy Kerin. (Wessex Press, and Simpkin
Marshall. 5s.)

New Key to Healing. Elsie Salmon. (Arthur James. Evesham.
2s. 6d.)

(The last three books are by living healers.)

Section XVIII

**Sir Jacob Epstein—Sculptor
(1880-1959)**

NOTES BY GWEN PORTEOUS

A comment on sculpture in general

A piece of sculpture is a solid form, carved or modelled, which gives aesthetic pleasure. The word "aesthetic" is hard to define but in this connection it belongs to the sense we have of an enlargement of being in the presence of a work of art. According to our ability to respond, we live more abundantly.

The techniques of carving and modelling are very different and some enthusiasts of to-day hold the view that only direct carving can truly be called sculpture. Michelangelo (1475-1564) was also of this opinion. "By sculpture I mean," he wrote, "the sort that is executed by cutting away from the block; the sort that is executed by building up resembles painting." The latter is known as modelling. For the carver his material—wood, stone or marble—is of first importance. The specific nature of each separate block contains for him within itself the idea which informs and shapes the completed work. The carver releases it by taking away what he does not want. The art of modelling is clearly different. It is achieved by manipulating a soft substance like clay, shaped easily compared with a carver's task with hard wood or stone. The sculptor who models builds up the work he has conceived by adding fresh masses of soft, pliable material to that with which he started. Figures cannot be left in clay; they must be cast in bronze or plaster.

Historically, carving and modelling are equally venerable crafts, and what is important is to appreciate the advantages each possesses. Modelling lends itself more readily to beautiful and original surface variation, particularly to a number of means of catching and holding light and shadow. In addition, the responsiveness of clay lends itself well to portraiture. On



Epstein's bronze of Einstein

the other hand, fine carved work can have an inner life of intense vitality that belongs to stone. Moreover, carving is almost essential for those works of monumental form and majestic simplicity in which the power of sculpture on a large scale resides. Epstein both carved and modelled.

"To turn from the monumental repose of his carved figure of *Night* for the headquarters of London Transport to the bronze head of *Jacob Kramer* in the Tate Gallery in which the pellets of clay converted into metal build up a richness of characterization, is to observe a masterly adaptation to different techniques and an understanding of what each is able to achieve."

(*Sculpture*. William Gaunt).

Some relevant biographical details

Jacob Epstein was a Jew, born on the East Side of New York. His parents had come to New York on one of the waves of immigration following Tsarist persecution and pogroms. Hester Street and its surroundings lay in the most densely populated part of the city and, looking back, Epstein realized how much he owed to "its unique and crowded humanity. Its swarms of Russians, Poles, Italians, Greeks and Chinese lived as much in the streets as in the crowded tenements, and the sights, sounds and smells had the vividness and sharp impact of an Oriental city." When his parents moved to a more respectable part of New York, this had no interest for Epstein. He remained behind in a room overlooking a market, with its moving mass of people making purchases, bartering, gossiping, gesticulating. He knew well the roof life of the city, the dock life on the East and West Sides, and, of course, the Jewish quarter.

His reaction to all this was an intense desire to draw, and he would follow a face that interested him until its character was sufficiently impressed on his mind for him to make his drawing. Early on he saw the plastic quality in coloured people, and many of them were his friends. All this diverse life from many lands was invaluable material which he knew how to absorb. Soon he began to feel that what he wanted to do could be best achieved in sculpture, and this became his deepest and most abiding interest. There was little opportunity for studying it in New York and, naturally, not much antique work was to be seen there. His great desire was to get to Paris, and with money earned from drawings he bought a ticket. Paris taught him much, but something drew him to London

and he determined to see whether he could settle down and work there. A visit to the British Museum settled the matter; henceforth his life is that of the sculpture he produced in this country. Would that it were a happier story!

The sculpture

(a) *Bronze portraits*

Clay rather than stone was Epstein's medium and his unique gift to our time resides in his portrait bronzes. He was much influenced by Rembrandt, whom he studied closely. Both men had a direct and personal warmth which they transmitted to their work. In Rembrandt's portraits and Epstein's busts there is the same quality of immediacy of feeling for human beings. Many of Epstein's bronzes are modelled with such intensity of spiritual insight that the clay fairly sings with life. So true is this in some cases that we are given records of the deep mainsprings of living of some of the most extraordinary people of our time. When we study the bronzes of Vaughan Williams, Joseph Conrad, Albert Einstein or Paul Robeson, we are conscious not only of an overwhelmingly real physical presence, but even more of an individual spiritual identity. The physical likeness is sometimes startling, but this is secondary. That the discovery of the finally revealing characteristics of his sitters excited him is clear from his descriptions of them in his Autobiography. Thus, of Conrad:

"Responsibility weighed on him and one immediately thought of Lord Jim—the conscience suffering at the evasion of duty. The whole head revealed the man who had suffered much."

Conrad's own comment on Epstein's bust of him was humbly appreciative. "It is wonderful to go down to posterity like that." It was offered to the National Portrait Gallery—and refused! It is now in the City of Birmingham Art Gallery.

Of Einstein, Epstein wrote:

"His glance contained a mixture of the humane, the humorous and the profound. This was a combination which delighted me. He resembled the ageing Rembrandt."

Epstein exhibited the head in London in 1933. It was discovered overturned on the floor! Fortunately the damage could be remedied and it is now in the Tate Gallery.

Vaughan Williams reminded him of

"some eighteenth century admiral whose word was law. Notwithstanding, I found him the epitome of courtesy and consideration and I was impressed by the logic and acuteness of everything he discoursed upon, and was made aware of his devotion to an art as demanding as sculpture."

Epstein enjoyed the sittings of Bertrand Russell

"whose fawn-like head I had long wanted to portray. Lord Russell, far from being the ponderous philosopher of tradition, was gay and witty as, pipe in hand, he carried on the most sprightly conversation."

It would be a great mistake to imagine that Epstein cared to work only from the great: his chief pleasure was to work from children of all descriptions. There was also "Old Smith"—an old, bareheaded, bearded man whose savage apostle's head attracted his attention; and "Old Pinager"—who sat with his matches every evening on the doorstep of a shop labelled "Old Masters". Pinager's bust, with the gnarled, patient hands, is in the Aberdeen Art Gallery. In the opinion of those most competent to judge and also in that of many humble-minded and intuitively sensitive people, Epstein was the greatest master of portraiture in his time.

(b) Stone and Marble: solving the architectural problem

In 1907, Epstein was asked to adorn with sculptures the new British Medical Association building in the Strand. Apart from his desire to create part of a beautiful building, he was interested in the problem involved in adapting sculpture to the architectural style and to the building material used. In eighteen figures Epstein sought to embody in sculpture the great primal truths of man and woman. The figures were austere, serious and beautiful, treated in what might be called the Biblical spirit and of remarkable original power. They aroused a storm of insult and abuse. It is true that they were nude, but this can be only part of the reason for it. Work that is deeply sincere and which makes a new demand on thought and feeling because it breaks fresh ground evokes fear and hostility. In spite of the fact that the figures are still mutilated almost beyond recognition, they were always defended by those best able to judge. Said Dr. Charles Holden, architect of the building, "There is a universal quality about

the work, rare not only in our own times, but in the whole history of sculpture."

The two sculpture groups, *Night* and *Day*, over the portals of the Underground Railway at St. James' Park, had the same mingled reception of praise and dislike. Glass containers with liquid tar in them were thrown at the group of *Night*. *Night* is a mother figure of a heavy Eastern type, with a boy lying across her lap whom she is stilling to sleep with a movement of her powerful left hand. The shapes are simplified to their bare essentials, everything ignored which did not express the sculptural idea of the brooding, silent, motionless figure supporting and protecting sleeping humanity. The architectural problem is beautifully solved: the horizontal line of the sleeping boy repeats with a curved variation the line of the stone course over the doorway; the leg of the male figure, curved at the knee, with its drooping foot, is repeated in the shoulder and the hand of the female figure. The rhythm of the whole group is expressive of an elemental conception of night, "ponderable and remote", as one critic put it, "making strange calls to our consciousness". The same sculptural qualities are to be found in *Day*, the same simplification and austerity. A large father figure presents a male child standing between his legs. The son stretches up his arms towards his father's neck and wears upon his face a look of reluctance, of apprehension perhaps, in view of *Day*'s demands. In both groups Epstein was saying new things that needed ears in tune to hear.

Some of the other works

The *Madonna and Child*, thirteen and a half feet high, was commissioned by the Nuns of the Convent of the Holy Child Jesus, to be placed above a high arch connecting two buildings on Cavendish Square, London. This work was modelled in clay and cast in lead. The nuns saw it in the studio before it was cast and were deeply moved by it. The gestures of the figures are, religiously, very significant.

The Visitation, cast in bronze, is a statue of the Virgin Mary at the moment of hearing that she is to be the Mother of Christ. She stands in profound humility, awed and incredulous. Her hands folded before her breast. Epstein portrayed her as a simple, peasant girl, her hair hanging down her back in plaits. The face and arms are fairly smooth, but the sculptor

has suggested the fabric of Mary's dress by leaving the clay rough and lumpy. *The Visitation* is in the Tate Gallery.

Christ in Majesty is one of the monumental works, modelled in clay, and with this Epstein broke new ground and had it cast in aluminium. It was executed for Llandaff Cathedral

Lazarus was welcomed, and is happily placed in New College Chapel, Oxford. This has a brooding power. Always conscious of the static, monumental quality of stone, Epstein conceived a man still dazed after the confinement of the tomb, a sleeper whose limbs beneath their mummy-cloth preserve still the rigidity of death.

Rima, heroine of the book "Green Mansions", depicted on the memorial of its author, W. H. Hudson, in Kensington Gardens, is a stylized female nude, surrounded by birds and carved in relief. Charming though it is, it was daubed with green paint. "This small and inoffensive panel produced a sensation wholly unexpected on my part," Epstein afterwards confessed.

An attempt at assessment

Throughout its history the aim of sculpture has often, but not always, been the representation of what things looked like either in the natural or in the human world. It had to carry some direct external reference—either actual, as in a portrait bust, or imagined, as in the case of a god or a madonna. At all times some sculptors have felt this to be a mistake. Epstein was an early modern sculptor to reject this restriction on his work.

In classical Greece (after 500 B.C.) and in Renaissance times (A.D. 1400-1900), the aim of the artist was almost always the creation of beauty. People clearly felt it should be so when Epstein was at work and many feel it should be so to-day. The French sculptor Rodin (1840-1917) departed from this ideal. Rodin influenced Epstein, who felt it wrong to strive directly for an abstract quality like beauty. The result might or might not be beautiful. If it were so, its beauty could be a by-product of the more important thing the artist created it to be. If it were not, in the accepted sense, beautiful, it might well be something much more moving and significant. *Beauty was not the primary aim in Epstein's sculpture.* What in it is beautiful—and this it often is—is incidental to something

much more urgently important which he wanted to communicate. As in the early days in New York, what mattered most for Epstein was *people*, and people of all kinds. What he wanted to express was his own passionate *feeling for life and growth* and his sense of *humanity's importance* in a tradition at least as old as the Book of Genesis. It was in the service of this sculptural aim that Epstein took all the kicks and won the battle for our younger sculptors. At the time of his death, Henry Moore wrote:

"We of the generation that succeeded him were spared a great deal, simply because his sturdy personality and determination had taken so much. He took the brickbats, he faced the howls of derision with which artists since Rembrandt have learned to become familiar. And so far as sculpture in this century is concerned, he took them first. In his old age he even came to resemble Rembrandt. His warmth and his vitality and his courage will not quickly be forgotten. We have lost a great sculptor."

Other work to be seen:

Tate Gallery. *Man; Ernest Bevin.*

National Portrait Gallery. *J. Ramsay Macdonald.*

City of Birmingham Art Gallery. *Lucifer; Kitty.*

City of Manchester Art Gallery. *Youth Advancing.*

Bolton Art Gallery. *The Slave Hold; Dierdre.*

Glasgow Art Gallery. *R. B. Cunninghame Graham.*

Aberdeen Art Gallery. *Girl with the Gardenias.*

Arts Council Gallery, London. *Vaughan Williams.*

Congress House. *Memorial Group.* (Memorial to Trade Union Victims of Two World Wars.)

Section XIX

The Christian View of Man

NOTES BY E. KATHLEEN DRIVER

In these two studies we are to learn what religion, and in particular the Christian religion, has to say about man's ultimate worth. Religion is concerned with man's relationship to God, and what one believes about man will depend on what one believes about God. If one altogether denies the existence of God, such denial will determine one's idea of man, his origin and destiny.

Some great religions and their views of man

For what the great religions of the world have to say about man, refer to previous handbooks and to Section XVI of this book. All religions almost unanimously agree that man is the creature of God, the divine architect who made man and the world to be the home of man. Only the Hebrew and the Christian religions, however (and not all developments of the Christian faith, e.g. Calvinism), allow that the creature is free. Others take the fatalistic, determinist view of human nature—Islam, for example, in its doctrine of predestination, and Hinduism and Buddhism in the belief in *karma* and the rebirth or transmigration of souls. They are at variance in their belief about man's destiny. Islam believes in a general resurrection and day of judgement, and its scriptures describe a sensuous heaven and a fiery hell to which all unbelievers, and some Muslims, will be consigned. For Hinduism and Buddhism, man's redemption lies in release from the succession of births; release which comes, for the Hindu, in absorption in the supreme mind, Brahma; for the Buddhist, in Nirvana.

In the realm of religion, and most of all in the religion of the Hebrews, the emphasis is on God, not on man: man exists to obey God, though it is a willing obedience that is asked for. In the Old Testament we find no real belief in personal immortality. Sheol is the abode of shades, not of souls or

spirits. For the Hebrews, with their idea of corporate personality, the hope of immortality lay with the future of one's family or nation—a man went on living in his children.

In modern humanism, which is either atheistic or agnostic, the emphasis naturally is entirely on man—who has emerged as the highest form of animal life. The statement that man is a creature of God is of course emphatically denied, for man is regarded as a being who can be fully explained and understood apart from God. The knowledge and control of nature is man's destiny and greatest need and he must "work out his own salvation" without fear or trembling. To suggest that he is dependent on a power outside himself is, for the humanist, to deprive man of his dignity and greatness. "Man is his own best master simply by exercising his prerogative of reason."

(a) HIS NATURE AND PURPOSE

As we have seen, Christianity, in common with most of the other great religions, holds that man is God's creature. It goes on to affirm, with the Hebrew, that he is created in the image of God, and speaks of him more personally as the child of God, but sets forth the ideal for humanity in the sinless perfection of Christ the Son of Man, to which it is the purpose of God that all men should attain.

In both this study and the study following, Bible references should be read during the school session.

Man a creature

The fundamental fact of human life is man's dependence on God. He is a being who cannot be fully understood apart from God. But though emphasis is laid continually on man's creatureliness and his sin is seen to lie in his rebellion against this state, the power which God has over him is the power of perfect wisdom and love. That is why there can be no question of human rights over against God, for that would imply that God might act unjustly or unlovingly towards man. Something of man's freedom is left to him even in his sin. The grace of God is not irresistible. God never batters his way into the lives of men but treats them always with great respect and delicacy as responsible persons. Only because man is a responsible being can he ever be regarded as a guilty being.

Man created in the image of God

Christianity accepts the idea of man conveyed in the Genesis story of creation, where it is stated that God said: "Let us create man in our image." This idea is echoed, though without mention of the word "image", in the 8th Psalm. Whole books have been written about what this means, but in a sentence we might say that it is emphasizing man's personal nature, that he is a rational being capable of spiritual fellowship with God. Herein lies his pre-eminence over all other creatures, and because man thus shares the essential nature of God it is possible for God to reveal himself through a human life, to become "true man". In the New Testament the idea of the image, as developed by Paul, is a likeness to Christ, a likeness which is God's purpose for man but which man has lost by sin and into which he must be restored by the grace of God in Christ. (See Colossians 1. 13-18 and Romans 8. 28-9.)

While this idea gives dignity to man in emphasizing his unique relationship to God, thereby bringing to each of us a sense of significance, it also profoundly affects our relationships with one another. Indeed it may be questioned whether there is any other doctrine of man which can resist the inhuman doctrines abroad in the world to-day which despise persons as having no sacredness nor worth. As these notes are being written (April, 1960) terrible things are happening in South Africa as a result of the denial of the universal sacredness of man.

Man a child of God

Jesus spoke of God as Father, and it might well therefore be implied that he regarded man as God's child. Paul in fact did explicitly teach that God is the Father of *all* men and that *all* men are his sons, and brothers one of another. Such teaching, however, cannot be based on any recorded words of Jesus—which speak rather of men as potential children of God (cf. Matthew 5. 44 and 45). It is another way of expressing the idea of the lost image to which reference was made in the preceding paragraph. It is the perfect sonship which we see in Jesus himself which God desires of man. The example of Jesus was of complete trust and unwavering obedience, such as might have been thought to be a hard or even impossible exaction from man had we merely been told about it. But in Him we see a life lived in perfect freedom,

free from our anxieties and fears and self-seekings—which are not natural but sinful. This is life in the image of God, for which every man was made.

“ ‘Whosoever shall leave all for my sake shall receive *in this world a thousandfold*, and in the world to come life everlasting.’ That is one of those promises of which all can see the fulfilment here and now. For what the human spirit desires above all in this world is to have its being justified, to be used, feel that there is some meaning in that which it attempts and undergoes, some place for it in the mysterious process of life. And here those who relax their clutch on what we absurdly call ‘the’ world, and give themselves to the real world of charity, redemptive action, co-operation with God, do receive a thousandfold. They receive an astonishing and increasing enrichment of existence, a deepening sense of significance in every joy, sacrifice, accomplishment and pain; in fact, a genuine share in that creative life of God which is always coming, always entering, to refresh and enhance our life”—(Evelyn Underhill).

Questions for discussion:

1. “It is the best men who are the truest expression of human nature, as the best fruit is the truest expression of the nature of a tree.” (John Hunter). Do you agree?
2. Do you believe that God can find more value in one man or woman than another?

(b) HIS HOPE AND DESTINY

The great essential for a belief in human immortality is a sufficiently elevated estimate of human nature. All that has been said, therefore, in the previous study is relevant to the concern of this one. If man is regarded as entirely the product of nature, then it is obviously absurd to suppose him exempt from the universal process of birth, growth, decay and death. If a prolonged survey of the human scene, past and present, results, as it well might, in disgust with human nature, why should the life of such a despicable creature be extended, and does it matter very much anyhow whether it is extended or not? Nevertheless, though all this is true, it must be said at once that the final ground of the Christian hope for man lies not in an estimate of his capacities but in faith in the God with whom all things are possible.

What is the Christian hope?

Let us say first of all what it is *not*. (i) It is not mere survival of bodily death in some impersonal existence, nor is it corporate survival in posterity. (ii) It is not only an individual hope. The Christian does not look only for continuing life for himself and other men but rather for the redemption of the universe, the final transformation of this world and every aspect of its life into a world wholly obedient to the rule of God, which is heaven. (iii) Immortality is not a gift bestowed as the reward of faith in Christ; confidence in it is rather an inevitable consequence of such faith. (iv) The idea of a future life is not put forward as a means of redressing the inequalities of the present, a place in fact where the righteous will receive their reward and the wicked their just punishment.

Grounds of Christian hope

(i) *The incompleteness of this present life.* (See Hebrews 13. 14.) The more sensible a man is of the riches of the present life—beauties of colour and sound, enjoyment of a lively understanding, the experience of close human relationships—the more keenly is he aware of a lack of fulfilment in them all, of being on the verge of unbounded realities whose grasp eludes him.

(ii) *The teaching of Jesus.* Jesus himself spoke with certainty of life after death. Look for instance at Mark 12. 24-27, Luke 23. 39-43, John 8. 51. Read also the teaching associated with the story of the raising of Lazarus in John 11. 1-44.

(iii) *The resurrection of Jesus.* The Christian church was founded on the fact of the resurrection—see Acts 2. 24, 32-34, extracts from Peter's speech on the day of Pentecost. Many other similar references are to be found in the story of the early church as given in Acts. Paul's statements of the Christian's hope of immortality as found in his epistles are also grounded in belief in the resurrection of Jesus—see I Corinthians 15. 12-22, 35-44, 51-55; I Thessalonians 4. 13-14; Romans 8. 11.

(iv) *Teaching about eternal life.* The phrase is found in a few places in the synoptic gospels, e.g. Mark 10. 17, 30; but it is in the Fourth Gospel that we get such constant reference to eternal life. It is a life which is endless, enduring; but that is not the most significant thing about it. It is not a life which begins when life in this world ends, but life of a certain quality

into which we may enter now, and which endures because of its quality. (See John 5. 24, 6. 27, 47.) It is the reality of life which is inherent in God himself and revealed in the historic life of Jesus (cf. John 1. 4). A man *has* eternal life when he appropriates it for himself through an act of faith, what the Fourth Gospel calls "believing on". But such believing does not imply intellectual assent to certain dogmas. It is also called "knowing" and it implies, not knowledge *about* God, but knowledge *of* Him, as a man *knows* his most intimate friend: it involves fellowship with God. Such fellowship, into which man may enter here and now, need never end.

The author of the Fourth Gospel has therefore no need to speculate about the nature of a future life, but in his first epistle sums up his belief in words recorded in I John 3. 2 (which see). This is the faith on which (as stated above) the sense of assurance of immortality depends, and in which (as we said in the introductory paragraph) the final ground of the Christian hope for man lies. Here we may complete the quotation given in the last study:

"Whosoever shall leave all for my sake shall receive in this world a thousandfold, and *in the world to come life everlasting.*" Through the Christian revelation men were shown, in a way they could receive though never wholly understand, the nature of that Absolute Love which moves to their destiny all stars and all souls. And the term of that process is the Eternal Life, the perfect consummation which God has prepared for those that love Him; in other words, all who really want it. 'This is eternal life; to know Thee, the one true God'—have our eyes opened on the Fact of facts, the soul's unique satisfaction, Whom to know is to adore. Christ in his great intercession asked only this for those He loved: this real life, poised in God. 'That they may be in us'; each tiny separate spirit absorbed in the mighty current of the Divine Charity. 'I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one'; this is the consummation we look for, that share in the life of Reality which is prepared for men"—(Evelyn Underhill).

Questions for discussion:

1. "The evil that men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones." Do you believe this to be true?
2. If the good can be seen to live on in a memory, or in a legacy of goodness in the lives of others, do you find that to be a satisfying sort of immortality for man?

Section XX

In and Out of Prison

NOTES BY JAMES W. DUCKER

How far can we approve of the treatment and training that is available to-day for those who are in prison? Punitive ideas are still very strong in the mind of the community, and the idea behind the law remains—that society must be protected. What are the present facts?

Obsolete buildings

The prisons in this country are, in the main, out of date, inadequate, and overcrowded. They were built about a hundred years ago, and although built solidly they are depressing both to the prisoner and the prison officer. If it is agreed—and this view is held by many—that to be deprived of one's liberty is in itself a sufficient punishment, it might be argued that the first step in any reform of our prison system should be the provision of suitable places of detention.

Reception and training

For the prisoner, entry to a prison is a degrading affair. On reception, although he may be treated with consideration, he is deprived of his clothes and subjected to a medical examination. He ceases to be a person and becomes merely a number. The whole tone of prison life is bound up with the great emphasis on the idea that it is very difficult to keep out of prison after you have once served a sentence. The person going into prison for the first time feels hopeless, that he is of very little value to anyone, and that he is a failure.

Some recent reforms

During the last twenty or thirty years there has been some attempt to bring about better conditions in the prisons. Thus there has been an attempt to classify prisons, so that

(for example) first offenders and young prisoners are kept apart from the others. Again, the prisoners are now allowed to associate with one another at certain times of the day. There is a possibility of corrective training, i.e. of selected prisoners having training in a trade, and there are more facilities for educational classes and recreation. The church services within the prison are always well attended and the chaplain himself finds many opportunities in his interviews with prisoners for giving considerable help to them. The work of prison visitors, too, must be mentioned; the opportunity just to talk to someone is greatly valued by prisoners. The fostering of an interest in art has proved to be a valuable outlet for those prisoners who take it up. The Adult School Study Handbook has found a place in a few prisons where there are interested groups and leaders available.

Some more recent reforms

More recently the establishment of the *open prisons* (prisons without bars) has proved to be well worth while. Selected prisoners, usually first offenders sentenced for a long term, are sent to these open prisons after spending some time at a local one. There have been very few escapes from these open prisons, which represent a great step towards building up a feeling of trust and responsibility in the minds of the prisoners themselves. There is a "sanction", of course, in that a prisoner who escapes will be sent back to a local prison and be deprived of the privilege that he had been granted.

In some prisons the *Norwich System* has been successfully tried. A number of prisoners are allocated to the special care of an individual prison officer. There are obvious advantages in an arrangement of this kind, for it provides the personal interest that so many prisoners lack and so much need.

At Wakefield prison, under the medical officer, Dr. Roper, there has been an experiment in *Group Therapy*. Free discussion of problems in a group is allowed, resulting in the formation of some feeling of community.

The Bristol Experiment

Within the grounds of the prison at Bristol a hostel has been built to which prisoners who have been serving a sentence of preventive detention can come for a few months before the end of their sentence. They go out to work each day on

ordinary civilian jobs. After paying something out of their wages for accommodation they have an opportunity to save a little to meet their needs upon release. This procedure forms a very useful bridge between the prison and the outside world and can build up a feeling of independence before the time of discharge.

Similar hostels have now been provided in other areas besides Bristol.

Home leave

A pre-release period of five days' leave has been proving very successful. By this means a prisoner has an opportunity to go to his home, providing that conditions are suitable, and during the period of leave he can make enquiries about future employment, etc., prior to his coming home permanently. In cases where it is impossible or inadvisable for him to return home, there are people who have offered to become "friends of the prison" and who undertake to receive a prisoner into their own home for the period of leave. The After-Care Officer has an opportunity to discuss the prisoner's future plans and to consult with the Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society about the prospects of help being given upon discharge.

After-Care

For many prisoners the return to society is a difficult matter. So much depends upon the attitude of former friends and associates. Fears about employment and about his reception at home and in other places all affect the prisoner. The fears about employment are often justified. "What will be the attitude of other workers when I go back to work?" "Will I have to tell anyone where I have been?" If the ex-prisoner is already known to someone in the factory or business to which he goes, the attitude of that person can determine success or failure in the process of re-establishment.

The homeless prisoner faces great difficulties on his release. Hostels and "Norman Houses" provide for the needs of some and they give very effective service, but there is no real substitute for a home of one's own and for "belonging" to a family.

The idea of after-care has developed a great deal in recent years but there is still much to be done in this field of social work. The National Assistance Board, of course, will provide

immediate financial help and the Employment Exchange will assist in the matter of obtaining work. Moreover, some employers are now coming forward to offer to take a certain number of discharged prisoners into their employ. If a prisoner has undergone a period of trade training while in prison, there are better prospects for him of suitable employment. The prisoner who has been subject to a period of preventive detention, however, is rather differently placed. Preventive detention is imposed upon "habitual criminals" and carries a sentence of from five to fourteen years' imprisonment. It is possible for a man to become so used to prison life that he prefers it to facing the hazards of life outside. When in prison he has no decisions to make and no need to think for himself. The regulations about preventive detention do not make any mention of training, for it is designed only for the protection of society.

Some encouraging examples

(i) The person who knows only prison or institutional life faces great difficulty upon discharge. One such person, nearly 70 years of age, had spent about 40 years in prison. Most of the remainder of the time had been spent in hostels. He had neither friends nor relatives, and the easiest way of finding accommodation was to commit a further offence. Even criminals, however, at some time in their life, may decide to retire, and he was given a chance by being put upon probation by a magistrate and has been cared for by a family who were prepared to give him a helping hand. He now feels that he belongs to someone and has kept out of prison for almost two years.

(ii) A younger man who had over 10 convictions before he was 25 was obviously a psychopathic personality. He showed very clearly, however, in spite of his shocking record, that there is always a spark of goodness to be found if one is prepared to look for it. He was a fine worker and when discharged from prison he showed much kindness and understanding to an aged person with whom he lodged. In prison he had been a trouble-maker and was highly suspicious of everyone.

(iii) The "false pretences" expert presents a different problem. This kind of offence can become a disease which is very hard to cure. Such a person will cheerfully defraud his

such an impression that he was invited to stand as a candidate for the county. His victory was regarded as the revolt of the freeholders against the powerful county families. He was also elected for Hull, but chose Yorkshire, which seat he held until he gave it up in 1812 owing to the too arduous duties involved.

Though a loyal supporter of Pitt, he was not rewarded with office. Years later he remarked that this was "merciful", for otherwise he could not have toured the continent.

His conversion

He made two tours of the continent with his family in 1784 and 1785, when he was accompanied by Isaac Milner, who had been an usher at Hull Grammar School and was now a well-known Don and preacher at Cambridge. They read together the Greek New Testament and Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion*. "By degrees", he wrote long afterwards, "I imbibed his (Milner's) sentiments." He gave up his life of pleasure and became involved in a bitter spiritual conflict, suffering from a sense of guilt and excessive self-distress and misery.

He was rescued from this by Rev. John Newton, from whom he sought spiritual advice. Newton had been a master of a slave ship before his own conversion and had become a well-known evangelical preacher. Wilberforce's soul-sickness was cured; but it left its impress on him.

Gravity, he told his sister, should be the business of life, gaiety its relaxation; but he added, "I will give it a more worthy epithet than gay—let me call it serenity, tranquillity, composure, which is not to be destroyed." Gravity and gaiety remained with Wilberforce throughout his life.

Effects of his conversion

In 1787 he started a society for the reformation of manners. George III issued a proclamation against vice and immorality, which gave the society, known as the Proclamation Society, a pretext and a programme.

Largely by his exertions the Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799 and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. He was also interested in the London Missionary Society, founded in 1794; but his enthusiasm led him astray in the Vanderkemp controversy.

After months of study and contemplation he started to write a religious tract, which grew into a book of over 500 pages, published in 1797 as "A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christianity in the Higher and Middle Classes in this Country contrasted with Real Christianity". Some 7,500 copies were sold in six months and by 1824 there had been 15 editions in this country and 25 in U.S.A., as well as numerous translations.

Owing to his personal efforts a stricter observance of Sunday came into vogue by the end of the 18th century. He would never use the day for work, if he could help it. In 1799 he promoted a Bill to suppress Sunday newspapers, but without success. Compare the facts to-day with those mentioned in his diary, which records: "I got the 19 Sunday newspapers once for all the other day that I might better judge of their contents, and assuredly such a collection of ribaldry and profaneness never before disgraced my library."

The movement for the abolition of the Slave Trade

His fine enthusiasm was soon to find a wider field in tackling the slave trade problem. It is possible that Newton, "the old African blasphemer" as he called himself, influenced Wilberforce in this matter.

Since the Mansfield decision of 1772, which freed the slave Somerset, public opposition to the slave trade had grown. In 1783 a Committee of six Quakers began to undertake the relief and liberation of negro slaves and to discourage the slave trade on Africa's coast. They collaborated with other pioneers, like Granville Sharp, who had brought the Somerset case, and Thomas Clarkson, who decided to abandon his clerical career and devote his life to the destruction of the slave trade.

In the summer of 1787 all these fellow-workers formed themselves into a Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. They would find out the facts; but they needed a politician to rouse the country and break down Parliament's apathy. The qualifications needed for such a politician were (1) the virtues of a fanatic, without the vices, (2) intellectual power to grasp the difficult subject, and ability to speak effectively, (3) recognized position in society and politics, (4) independence, high principles and charm. Wilberforce had all these, as well as an interest in the problem. At the age of 14 he

had written to a Yorkshire paper "in condemnation of the vile traffic in human flesh." In 1780 he had asked a friend, going to Antigua, to collect first-hand information about the slave-trade.

Before he took action he was determined to master the facts. He got information from London merchants in the African and West Indian trade; he held regular meetings with his fellow-agitators and friendly M.P.s. Clarkson was sent out on laborious missions, which provided a basis of hard and essential facts. He visited the ports and slave ships. He took measurements of slave quarters. He inspected ships' muster-rolls to discover the high death rate of British seamen in slave ships. He bought specimens of handcuffs, leg-shackles, mouth-openers and thumb-screws used in slave ships. Wilberforce himself took evidence from many people with knowledge of the trade over a long period of years. Thus equipped with the facts and evidence, he was ready to raise the case in the House of Commons, and was encouraged to do so by Pitt, then Prime Minister, who advised him: "Do not lose time or the ground may be occupied by another." (For some of the evidence, and how carefully it was collected, see Coupland's *Wilberforce*, pp. 87-88, and Lecky's *History of England in the XVIIIth Century*, Vol. VII, pp. 369-370.)

The twenty years campaign

As early as 1787 Wilberforce tried unsuccessfully to get prohibitions against the slave trade included in a treaty with France, then being negotiated in Paris. Two years later he moved twelve resolutions in the House of Commons condemning the trade; they were carried with the support of Pitt, Fox and Burke. In 1791 he sought leave to introduce a Bill for the abolition of the trade but the motion was rejected by 163 votes to 88. The next year he succeeded in getting the Commons to approve a motion for the gradual abolition of the slave trade as from 1st January, 1796; but efforts to get an Act of Parliament passed failed, owing to the delaying tactics of the slave traders, who insisted on more and more evidence being given, and to the refusal of the Lords to pass a bill. Wilberforce then had more and more evidence brought before both Houses, with the result that in 1804 an Abolition Bill passed the Commons, but it was defeated in the Lords.

With Pitt's return to power, Wilberforce hoped for success;

but Addington had joined Pitt and he was opposed to abolition. On the formation of the Fox-Grenville ministry after Pitt's death, prospects of success were brighter. Wilberforce wrote a pamphlet, which grew to a book of 400 pages, entitled "A letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade addressed to the Freeholders and other inhabitants of Yorkshire," in support of his case. "A pamphlet", he says, "thrown in just in such circumstances, may be like a shot which hits between wind and water." It certainly sank the slave trade.

The Bill was introduced in the Lords early in 1807 and passed through all stages there by February 10th, when it was read in the Commons for the first time. The second reading was carried on February 23rd, by a majority of 283 to 16. An amendment in Committee to postpone its operation for five years was defeated by 175 votes to 17. The third reading was carried without a dissentient vote on March 16th and the bill received the Royal assent on March 23rd.

The Abolition of Slavery

In the years of agitation Wilberforce had always denied that emancipation would soon follow the abolition of the slave trade. In 1792 he had argued that the negroes were unfit for emancipation; but after 1807 he soon realized that regulations against the slave trade lead inevitably to agitation for emancipation. The emancipationists were encouraged by the experiment in Haiti, where a negro republic and then a kingdom had been established by Christophe, a negro slave born in St. Kitts. Wilberforce helped Christophe to get teachers and other assistance to train the negroes in freedom and education. Unfortunately the scheme failed when Christophe committed suicide in 1820.

Wilberforce made two valuable contributions to the emancipation cause. He wrote a 50-page pamphlet entitled "An Appeal to the Religion, Justice and Humanity of the Inhabitants of the British Empire on behalf of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies." It was well packed with facts and cogently argued. The presentation was simple and effective, as it was not fanatical. It influenced public opinion considerably. In March 1823 he presented a Quaker petition for emancipation to the House of Commons.

Nevertheless Wilberforce realized that he was too old and frail to lead the cause to final success, ill-health compelled him

to retire as M.P. for Bramber in 1825 and he handed over the leadership to Thomas Fowell Buxton, whose friendship he had made through Norfolk Quakers. Buxton had become an M.P. in 1818 and an ally of Wilberforce in the emancipation cause in 1821. Both realized that the campaign would be a slow and difficult one owing to the relentless opposition and the fact that abolition of slavery was a far graver matter than abolition of the slave trade.

After the Reform of Parliament in 1832 a large public campaign in favour of emancipation was begun. Wilberforce spoke at a meeting at Maidstone, where he supported the plan for compensating the slave-owners for the loss of their slaves. This concession and the modification of the period of apprenticeship enabled the Whig government to get a majority in favour of the Bill. Wilberforce lived long enough to learn of the second reading. "Thank God," he said, "that I should have lived to witness a day in which England is willing to give twenty millions for the abolition of slavery." He died four days later.

A year later, on July 31st, 1834, 800,000 slaves were freed—one of the greatest events in history and a tribute to Wilberforce's memory.

Other work

He favoured some other reforms. He supported Romilly and Mackintosh in their efforts to mitigate the severity of the penal code. He tried to get rid of the game laws and the transportation system. He advocated Catholic Emancipation and a mild measure of Parliamentary Reform.

On the other hand, like most members of his class, he was afraid of revolution, especially after the excesses of the French Revolution. He approved the passing of the Combination Laws, making Trade Unions illegal. He supported the Corn Laws in 1815 and the policy of the Tory government in the difficult years after 1815, especially the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the passing of the Gag Acts.

He was a stern critic of the government's handling of the situation which led to the outbreak of war with U.S.A. in the period 1812-1814. As he said, "I most earnestly trust that we are not involved in the misfortune of a new war, aggravated by possessing almost the character of civil strife—a war between two nations, who are children of the same family and

brothers in the same inheritance of common liberty." He would also have ended the wars with France at a much earlier date.

The man

His most obvious characteristic was his great personal attractiveness, noted by all his biographers. His singular vivacity, playfulness and gaiety made him a favourite of society in his early days and he retained this popularity for the rest of his life. His transparent kindliness and simplicity and his honesty of purpose made him likeable even to his opponents. It was the charm of his character that allowed him to act as a moral censor of his time. He was not regarded as being gloomy or a pharisee, as were so many of his contemporaries in the Clapham Sect.

He was a man of many-sided interests, not a fanatic of one idea. For this reason he was equally respected by his Tory allies, the orthodox Whigs and the Radicals like Bentham and Romilly.

The judgement of an Italian diplomat sums him up:

"When Mr. Wilberforce passes through the crowd, everyone contemplates this little old man, worn with age and his head sunk upon his shoulders, as a sacred relic—as the Washington of humanity."

Question for discussion:

1. How accurate is the Italian diplomat's judgement?
2. What M.P. of recent times has done work similar to that of Wilberforce?
3. Do we need another Wilberforce to-day to carry on other campaigns for humanity?

Book reference:

Wilberforce. Sir R. Coupland. (Collins. 12s. 6d.) (If out of print, from a library.)

Section XXII

The United Nations

(a) THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF
HUMAN RIGHTS

NOTES BY PERCY W. DAY

It is only fitting that a book concerned with the value of human beings everywhere should include an account of some aspects of the work of the United Nations, which was brought into being to safeguard human rights and interests.

Copies of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* may be obtained from H.M. Stationery Office (Agency Section), P.O. 569, London, S.E.1. (Price 1s., postage 3d., pay on invoice.) School secretaries may like to obtain copies for their members.

Background

Anyone reading *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* for the first time may well be surprised, for it is in many respects an unlikely document to emerge in our present world. Differences between countries are many and the world seems divided into two camps, with a neutral block in between. Yet over 50 sovereign countries have approved this complex and distinctive document.

For centuries man has struggled to win recognition of some of the human rights set out in the Declaration. As early as 1215 Magna Carta imposed limits on arbitrary government. At the end of the 17th century the Bill of Rights was passed by Parliament and limited the royal powers still further, asserting certain rights of the subject. In the late 18th century the French and American Declaration of Rights extended still further the rights of man.

During the past century the world has grown suddenly smaller and we have become much more interdependent owing to the rapidity of new means of communication, the

wide flow of information and ideas and the spread of industrialization. We cannot afford to ignore other peoples' problems, and in any case we are all very much alike in our needs and hopes. These factors, together with our increasing realization that social justice is the basis of universal peace, and also the impact of the Second World war, which was totalitarian in character, have made it possible for our generation to draw up a universal declaration.

The drafting

Article I of the Charter of the United Nations lays down as one of its purposes "Promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedom for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Accordingly the United Nations set up in 1946 the Commission of Human Rights, consisting of 18 members.

At the first session of the Commission in 1947 a small drafting Committee of 8 members, under the chairmanship of Mrs. F. D. Roosevelt, was given the job of drafting the Declaration. They produced a document of 44 articles and a preamble.

At the second session, held at Geneva in December 1947, further revision of the draft was undertaken. It was finally decided that the International Bill of Rights should consist of three sections—a declaration, a covenant, and measures of implementation. This was done because there was a division of opinion as to whether the main need was for a declaration of principles or for a legally binding covenant. Three working parties studied a section each. Comments and suggestions on the Declaration were invited from member states and other organs of the United Nations. In the light of these the draft was further amended—the work represented "a compromise between a tendency to over-condensation on the one hand and, on the other, the inclusion of many details that might have increased its human appeal."

At the third session at Lake Success in May and June 1948, the Draft was studied word by word, as there was general agreement that "the Declaration should be clear, concise and relatively short, and that it should be easy for all peoples, everywhere, to understand." It was adopted by 12 votes in favour, none against, and four abstentions.

The Draft was sent to the Economic and Social Council, the parent body of the Commission, and in turn it was sent

to the General Assembly which examined it at its meeting in Paris in September 1948 and sent it to its third committee, consisting of representatives of all 58 member states.

This committee held 81 meetings to consider the Draft, as the majority were discussing it for the first time, and went over the text word by word. (For an example of the work done, see B, pp. 31-39.) On December 7th, the text of the *Declaration* was passed by the third Committee, and three days later the General Assembly adopted it—48 countries voted in favour, none against, two were absent and 8 abstained—Byelorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, the Ukraine, the U.S.S.R., and Yugoslavia. These states abstained not because they disagreed in principle with the Declaration, but because they said many articles did not go far enough and they disapproved of other articles, particularly those appearing to trespass on the rights of sovereign states and those failing to specify rights of minorities.

The President of the Assembly, Dr. Evatt of Australia, hailed it as a document to which "millions of people, men, women and children all over the world, many miles from Paris and New York, will turn for help, guidance and inspiration."

The Declaration itself

The Declaration consists of 30 *articles* covering both civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights.

Articles 1 and 2 are general, stating that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" and are entitled "to all rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration without distinction of any kind such as race, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The first article is based on the two assumptions that (1) the right to liberty and equality is man's birthright and cannot be alienated, and (2) man is a rational and moral being, as distinguished from other creatures on earth.

The main body of the Declaration (Articles 3-28) can be divided into 3 groups. *Articles 3-20* deal with the incidents of personal freedom, including the right to own property. The main rights recognized include the right to life, liberty and security of person; freedom from slavery and servitude; freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment; the right to recognition as a person

before the law; equal protection of the law; the right to an effective judicial remedy; freedom from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile; the right to a fair trial and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal; the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty and freedom from *ex post facto* penal laws*; freedom from arbitrary interference with privacy, family, home or correspondence; freedom of movement; right of asylum; the right of a nationality; rights relating to marriage; the right to own property; freedom of thought, conscience and religion; freedom of opinion and expression; and the right of assembly and of association. *Article 21* is a brief charter of political freedoms focused on the citizen's right to take part in the government of his country, his right of equal access to public service, and the right to free elections on the basis of universal suffrage.

The next section, *Articles 22-28*, formulates the economic, social and cultural rights of the human being—the right to social security; the right to work; the right to rest and leisure; the right to a standard of living adequate for health and well-being; the right to education; and the right to participate in the cultural life of the community. These are rounded off by a general clause, *Article 28*, which postulates “a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in the Declaration can be fully realized.”

The last two articles, *Articles 29 and 30*, remind every person of his “duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.” It recognizes that in the exercise of his rights and freedoms limitations are imposed for the sake of others and “of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.” Further, rights and freedoms cannot be exercised “contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations”. Finally, no state, group or person has the “right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any rights and freedoms set forth” in the Declaration. (The full text of the Declaration is set out in A, pp. 32-36.)

Moral or legal authority

Many will ask whether the *Declaration* is a statement of moral standards or a statement of law. It is not easy to give

* i.e. laws which make punishable those offences which have been committed before the passing of the law in question.

a categorical answer. There is general agreement that the Declaration states general principles and is of the highest moral authority. It was adopted by the General Assembly, however, as a resolution and not drafted as a treaty, so it has not any legal authority. Some argue that it is not completely devoid of the force of law, as the Charter of the United Nations is a legally binding treaty on all member states, who "pledge themselves to take joint and separate action" to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without discrimination as to race, sex, language or religion". The *Universal Declaration* gives an authoritative interpretation of human rights, not defined by the Charter. To that extent, it is argued, all member states are bound to observe the Declaration.

The influence of the Declaration

No one can estimate the effects of the Declaration upon individual minds or upon non-governmental organizations in the last 13 years. Some of those effects can be seen in a variety of ways:

1. The constitutions of a number of new states—e.g. Pakistan, Libya, Syria, Costa Rica, Egypt, Indonesia, Haiti—have incorporated many of the provisions of the Declaration.

2. Other countries have incorporated specific provisions of the Declaration in their laws. Argentina issued a legislative decree in 1955 declaring in its preamble that provisions purporting to deprive any one of his nationality as a measure of political persecution are contrary to human rights as proclaimed by the General Assembly. The government of Panama promulgated a law in 1956 prohibiting discrimination on account of birth, race, social origin, sex, religion or political opinion (views expressed in Article 2).

3. Judicial decisions and opinions have been influenced by the Declaration. To quote two cases: In *Wilson v. Hacker*, the New York Supreme Court held in 1950 that discrimination on the basis of sex exercised by a Trade Union was objectionable and quoted Articles 2 and 23 of the *Universal Declaration* in support of its decision. Article 3 was quoted as a ground for decision in a Belgian Court in 1954 ordering the release of a woman placed in a mental institution against the wishes of her mother but upon the application of her father. (For other cases, see A, pp. 26-29.)

4. The United Nations itself has based many of its recommendations and resolutions on the principles laid down in the *Universal Declaration* as a reason for action or a standard of achievement, in such matters as racial discrimination and marriage and the family.

5. The *Universal Declaration* has been cited in a number of international conventions adopted under the auspices of the U.N. and I.L.O. in such problems as the status of refugees and stateless persons, political rights of women, nationality of married women, slavery and servitude, forced labour and discrimination in employment and occupation. Such conventions, when adopted by states, have the force of law. (See A, pp. 19-22, for these examples.)

6. The General Assembly has considered special problems, involving human rights, which seem contrary to the principles laid down in the *Declaration*. Three illustrations must suffice. (i) The plight of many victims of scientific experiments in Nazi concentration camps was investigated and some 528 cases were handled. (ii) In 1950 the problem of prisoners of war, who had not been repatriated, was tackled by an *ad hoc* committee of three "qualified and impartial persons". (iii) In 1952 the General Assembly set up a Commission of three members to study the racial situation in South Africa, which was regarded as a breach of human rights; but the South African government considered the Commission was illegal and refused to co-operate with it.

"Whatever the future may hold, the *Universal Declaration* represents the aspirations, perhaps the highest aspirations, of common men and women of the present age. It is a statement of what ought to be, not necessarily of what is. As a standard of achievement, it presents a challenge and a goal. To meet that challenge or reach that goal requires the common efforts of all peoples and all nations." (From *A Standard of Achievement*: see below.)

Questions for discussion:

1. Do you endorse the concluding remarks above?
2. How far has Dr. Evatt's judgement been justified by events?
3. Should the *Declaration* be given the force of law?
4. Would you add any other articles to the *Declaration*, or do you consider that its provisions are sufficiently comprehensive?
5. Which articles do you consider to be the most important?

Book Reference:

- A. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights—A Standard of Achievement*. (United Nations, New York. Obtainable from H.M.S.O. 1s. 6d.)
- B. *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights—A Guide for Teachers*. (U.N.E.S.C.O., Paris. Obtainable from H.M.S.O. 3s.)
- C. *United Nations Work for Human Rights*. (United Nations, New York. Obtainable from H.M.S.O. 1958 edition. 1s. 9d.)

Visual and aural aids:

Human Rights *Poster* Set in English. (Five sheets, 30 ins. by 40 ins., in three colours. 3s. 9d.)

Filmstrip (73 frames). "The Universal Declaration of Human Rights". (\$3, or \$2 if more than three are ordered.)

Film. Of Human Rights (2 reels of 21 minutes). (Fee for loan —\$4.)

Radio Recording—Document A/777 by Norman Corwin (one hour).

All the above are available from the United Nations, New York. (Posters and pamphlets about the United Nations and its work are obtainable from the United Nations Association of Great Britain and Ireland, 25, Charles Street, London, W.1, or from the United Nations London Information Centre, 14, Stratford Place, London, W.1.)

(b) THE SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

NOTES BY WILFRID H. LEIGHTON

Whatever may be thought about the United Nations—and it is not without its critics—few would fail to pay tribute to the achievements of the Specialized Agencies, whose work has little glamour and less publicity. These Agencies are organizations established by inter-governmental agreements. They are brought into close relationship with the United Nations especially through the Economic and Social Council. They have wide responsibilities in economic, social, cultural, educational, health and other related activities, many of which cannot be adequately covered by the Economic and Social Council. In fact it may be said that if the Specialized Agencies did not exist they would have to be established, since

no one body could do the work which they do. They are lifting the burden of poverty, removing the blight of disease, lighting the darkness of ignorance and casting out the devils of witchcraft and superstition, wherever these evils exist. There is also much else, connected with communications, trade and finance. Each of the Specialized Agencies has its own charter, its governing body, its budget and its staff who form part of a great international civil service.

Membership of U.N. does not necessarily imply membership of any or all of the Agencies. The relationship of these bodies to U.N. is fluid; U.N. has entered into an agreement with each Agency separately.

Note on method

If at all possible get someone who has been engaged on one or more of the UNESCO projects to come and talk to your group. The personal touch will be a valuable supplement to the written word.

For fuller information on this subject apply to The United Nations Association, 25, Charles Street, London, W.1, or to The Council for Education in World Citizenship (at the same address).

Thirteen Agencies

The Specialized Agencies (listed here for reference) are thirteen in number and are designated as follows:

The International Telecommunications Union (ITU). Established in 1865. Headquarters in Geneva.

The Universal Postal Union (UPU). Founded in 1875, it has an honourable history and retains its H.Q. in Berne.

The International Labour Organization (ILO). Established in 1919, it survived the Second World War, during which it carried on in Canada. It is now back in its original home in Geneva. It is representative of Managements, Trade Unions and Governments.

The Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). Established in 1945. Headquarters in Rome.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF). Established in 1945 as a result of the Bretton Woods Conference on World Finance in 1944. Headquarters in Washington.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). Established in 1945, it also has its Headquarters in Washington.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It succeeded the League of Nations' Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, whose chairman for eight years was the late Gilbert Murray. UNESCO was established in 1946, with its Headquarters in Paris. (See below.)

The International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO). Established in 1948, with Headquarters in Montreal.

The World Health Organization (WHO). Established in 1948 with Headquarters in Geneva.

The World Meteorological Organization (WMO). Established in 1950. Headquarters in Geneva.

The International Finance Corporation (IFC). Affiliated to the International Bank, but established as a special agency in 1957.

The Inter-Governmental Maritime Consultative Organization (IMCO). Established in 1958, with Headquarters in New York.

The International Trade Organization has not yet been established but its work has been embodied in an international commercial treaty known as the *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*, which is administered at Geneva.

There was in addition the *International Refugee Organization (IRO)* but this has now been discontinued.

The U.N. Atomic Energy Commission, set up in 1946 and comprising the members of the Security Council and Canada, has mirrored the defects of that Council and under Russian pressure has been subject to the veto. It remains to be seen if it will become an Agency in its own right.

Though not listed as Specialized Agencies mention must be made of (i) the *United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)* which was set up in 1946 by the General Assembly and is part of the United Nations, and (ii) a *Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED)*, set up to make grants and loans to underdeveloped countries which undertake projects for the exploitation of their own resources.

UNESCO

At least one of these Agencies may now be considered in some detail, but the work of the others also deserves study.

Formation ("in the minds of men")

In January, 1941, the Council for Education in World Citizenship held an international conference at Oxford of

leaders in education to consider the plight of refugees in Great Britain. The Council appointed a commission, with Gilbert Murray as President, to consider the future of education as an international concern. Its report, "Education in the United Nations", advocated the establishment of an international organization. The President of the then Board of Education, Mr. R. A. Butler, called a conference of Allied Ministers of Education including the U.S.A. Minister, and in November, 1945, under the Presidency of Ellen Wilkinson, the Minister of Education, UNESCO was born. A year later it was officially set up with Dr. (now Sir) Julian Huxley as Director-General. It began with a membership of 20 countries; now it has 79, including the U.S.S.R. and Ethiopia. Its constitution opens with the memorable words of Mr. (now Earl) Attlee:

"Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed."

It goes on to state that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause of suspicion and mistrust leading to war, and that the terrible world wars were

"made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the inequality of men and races."

How it works; programme and projects

UNESCO has a General Council which meets biennially, a Secretariat (present Director-General, Dr. Luther H. Evans, an American), and an international staff located in Paris.

Its programme, which is carried out with the aid of national commissions and the co-operation of governments and educational bodies, is concerned with six major projects:

1. *Free and compulsory primary education in all countries.* This includes the training of native teachers (often with the help of European and American teachers and advisers) and the provision of school buildings and equipment (often improvised)—which becomes an adventure when local enthusiasm is aroused, as often happens.

2. *Fundamental or Basic Education for Adults.* Here school teachers co-operate with librarians, engineers, scientists, doctors and nurses, and there is special emphasis on visual aids. The film "World Without End" illustrates this kind of work.

"A primary task is to provide for primitive and backward people, in their own setting, the knowledge and skills necessary for utilizing their natural resources and perfecting their native crafts; for combating endemic diseases and maintaining health by cleanliness, sanitation and wholesome food properly cooked; for making good homes in good communities. The three R's have their place but are not the starting point. No contribution to the union of minds can be made by people who lead short, unhealthy, poverty-stricken and ignorant lives."—From *The United Nations—The First Ten Years*. Ed. by B. A. Wortley. (Manchester Univ. Press).

International conferences and seminars are sponsored by UNESCO to study and share the problems of adult education in many parts of the world. (The writer of these notes attended such a seminary in France, where leaders in adult education from many countries in Europe, Asia, Africa and America were present and shared experiences under the direction of the late G. D. H. Cole.) UNESCO publishes a bi-monthly magazine, *Courier*, printed in English, French, Spanish or Russian (1s.). This gives information on fundamental education, and is a kind of window on the world. Young people are especially attracted to the educational tours which are a notable feature of UNESCO's work, whilst publications like "Study Abroad" and "Vacations Abroad" give information on voluntary work camps and the training of leaders in basic education.

3. *Science*. This includes the co-operation of scientists of different countries for the purpose of raising living standards and for sharing the fruits of research. Science includes the social sciences which are becoming an indispensable necessity and as important as technical aid to peoples who are aspiring to raise their standards of living and to become communities where the dignity and worth of individual persons matter. We might take a look at our own way of life in this respect. But for inspiring stories of the work of UNESCO look at what it is doing in the Middle East, in Asia, in Africa and South America.

4. *Racial and social tensions*. These are world-wide problems and the concern of all who work for social harmony and international peace. UNESCO has sponsored the formation of an International Social Science Council, which has been responsible for a *Declaration on Race* in which a panel of experts from eight countries has exploded the idea

that there exist any scientific grounds for racial discrimination. Information in many languages is available and mass communication through radio, cinema, television and press has been launched.

5. *Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western cultural values.* This is much more than an understanding of the ideological conflict which divides the world: it is an attempt to get at the roots of the cultures of peoples but especially those of Europe and of their derivatives in the Americas and of those of the ancient lands of Asia. It is through an appreciation of the arts of these lands that the most promising results are obtained. This naturally leads to

6. *Freedom of information.* The work of UNESCO is well summed up in this sphere by a quotation from the pamphlet on the Specialized Agencies published by the United Nations itself:—

“UNESCO carries out this task (the promotion of better understanding between ordinary men in all lands) through the grant of financial aid to voluntary organizations in all cultural fields, such as theatre, music, philosophy, museums and libraries. It encourages the use of travelling art exhibitions and seeks to relate the many fields of art to the broad area of education by suggesting ways in which cultural subjects can be integrated into educational programmes.

“In its special role in promoting freedom of information, UNESCO surveys and brings to light inadequate press, radio, film and television facilities in various countries; it provides for the diffusion of training techniques in those media in the less advanced countries, and recommends international action to remove barriers to the flow of information.”

For consideration:

1. The aims of UNESCO and the Adult School Movement are similar. In what ways can we individually and as Schools help the work of UNESCO. (For information write to: United Nations Association, 25, Charles St., London, W.1.)

2. In what specific ways is ignorance of the way of life of other peoples all over the world being overcome?

3. How does truth make for freedom? (See Bible reading.)

SUGGESTED READINGS AND HYMNS

I. INTRODUCTORY STUDY

- Jan. 1 Reading: Hebrews 2. 6-11.
Hymns: 34.

II. PEOPLE AND THEIR INTERESTS

- Jan. 8 Reading: **Pocket World Bible*, pp. 66-67 ("Of Associates": first two paragraphs).
Hymns: 29, 173.
" 15 Reading: Ecclesiastes 3. 1-13.
Hymns: 62, 59.
" 22 Reading: Matthew 13. 1-8.
Hymns: 231, 254.
• Routledge & Kegan Paul. 10s. 6d.

III. LEISURE IN A MASS SOCIETY

- Jan. 29 Reading: "Leisure" (Poem by W. H. Davies, in many anthologies); and **Ends and Means* (A. Huxley, pp. 287-8: from "Of the significant and pleasurable experiences . . ." to " . . . the ideal we have tried to realize").
Hymns: 128, 126.
• Chatto and Windus.

- Feb. 5 (Free date.)

IV. NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE

- Feb. 12 Reading: Jeremiah 1. 4-19.
Hymns: 136, 46, 61.
" 19 Reading: II Thessalonians 3. 1-18.
Hymns: 176, 55, 62.
" 26 Reading: Acts 16. 9-24, 35-40.
Hymns: 175, 177, 150,

LORD NORTHCLIFFE

- Mar. 5 Reading: Proverbs 3. 13-20.
Hymns: 62, 22.
Mar. 12 (Free date.)

V. H. G. WELLS AND "MR. POLLY"

- Mar. 19 Reading: Matthew 4. 18-25.
Hymns: 100, 55.
" 26 Reading: Psalm 8.
Hymns: 153, 367.

VI. NEGRO SPIRITUALS

- Apr. 2 (*Easter*).
Reading: Psalm 137.
Hymns: 382, 121, 317.

VII. EDUCATION AND LIVING

- Apr. 9 Reading: Proverbs 13.
Hymns: 5, 10, 27.
" 16 Reading: Psalm 15.
Hymns: 185, 55, 1.
" 23 Reading: Psalm 119. 9-16.
Hymns: 6, 62, 56.
" 30 (Free date.)

VIII. THE BOOK OF JOB

- May 7 Reading: Job 1. 1-3, 2. 1-13.
Hymns: 208, 382, 385.
" 14 Reading: Job 23. 1-13
Hymns: 332, 353, 357, 374.
" 21 (Whitsun) (Free date.)

IX. TELEVISION

- May 28 Reading: Job 28.
Hymns: 5, 2, 4.
June 4 Reading: Eccl. 1. 8; Matthew 6. 22; Mark 8. 18.
Hymns: 62, 13, 59.

X. OUT OF THE CROWD INTO THE GROUP

- June 11 Reading: Ephesians 4. 1-16.
Hymns: 353, 339.

XI. THE NEW CHINA

- June 18 Reading: Luke 13. 6-9; 15. 4-6, 8-9.
Hymns: 16, 21.
" 25 Reading: 1 Kings 3. 5-15.
Hymns: 236, 29, 215.
July 2 Reading: Isaiah 35. 1-8.
Hymns: 53, 5.
" 9 Reading: Revelation 13. 11-15.
Hymns: 56, 23.

XII. MAN AND HIS LANDSCAPE

- July 16 Reading: Luke 19. 28, 41-44.
Hymns: 3, 1, 7.
" 23 Reading: Deuteronomy 20. 19-20; Matthew 6. 26-34.
Hymns: 153, 43, 31.

XIII. OUR WATER SUPPLIES

- July 30 Reading: Isaiah 43. 18-21; II Kings 3. 9-20.
Hymns: 10, 237, 150.
Aug. 6 (Free date.)

XIV. "AN ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE"

- Aug. 13 Reading: Joshua 1. 9; Matthew 5. 11-12.
Hymns: 360, 62.
" 20 (Free date.)

XV. LANDSCAPE IN PAINTING

- Aug. 27 Reading: Matthew 6. 25-33.
Hymns: 398, 68.
Sep. 3 Reading: Psalm 65.
Hymns: 396, 350.

XVI. THE TEACHING OF BUDDHISM

- Sep. 10 Reading: The First Sermon of the Buddha (*Pocket World Bible*, page 107).
Hymn: 41.
" 17 Reading: The Twin Verses: from the Dhammapada (*Pocket World Bible*, page 128).
Hymn: 59.
Sep. 24 (Free date.)

XVII. TOWARDS RELIEF OF SUFFERING

- Oct. 1 Reading: Psalm 25. John 5. 1-14.
Hymns: 141, 346.
" 8 Reading: Psalm 103; Mark 2. 1-12.
Hymns: 52, 162.
" 15 Reading: Psalm 121; I Corinthians 12. 1-11.
Hymns: 146, 287.
" 22 (Free date.)

XVIII. SIR JACOB EPSTEIN—SCULPTOR

- Oct. 29 Reading: Proverbs 8. 11-30.
Hymns: 389, 369.

XIX. THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MAN

- Nov. 5 Reading: (In the notes)
Hymns: 227, 413.
" 12 Reading: (In the notes).
Hymns: 316, 347.
Oct. 19 (Free date.)

XX. IN AND OUT OF PRISON

- Nov. 26 Reading: Revelation 21. 1-4.
Hymns: 138, 227, 85.

XXI. WILBERFORCE

- Dec. 3 Reading: Psalm 121.
Hymns: 55, 348, 117.

XXII. THE UNITED NATIONS

- " 10 Reading: Hebrews 2. 6-18.
Hymns: 350, 53, 61.
" 17 Reading: John 8. 25-32.
Hymns: 23, 24, 5.
Dec. 24 (*Christmas*) (Free date.)
" 31 (Free date.)

What Adult Schools DO:

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Adult Schools exist that their members may *learn together*, not on a formal basis of lecturer and students, but as groups of friends endeavouring to discover and practise a way of life through the search for knowledge and the deeper appreciation of all things lovely and of good report. The use of the annual Study Handbook for this purpose enables a wide variety of subjects to be considered in Adult Schools under the guidance of a carefully prepared scheme of studies. Their range includes Bible study, religion, art, literature, music, drama, science, social questions, international affairs and biographies.

In addition to the study of social problems, much direct *social work* is often undertaken—help to the blind, infirm or aged, hospital visitation, youth work, assistance to prisoners, displaced persons and refugees. In some cases sports clubs are arranged; and most Schools have a good number of *social occasions*.

Adult Schools meet in *a variety of places*: their own premises, hired halls, or rooms in the homes of members. Naturally, the character and extent of the work they do is in some degree shaped by the available accommodation.

Adult Schools, while welcoming freedom of thought, seek to cultivate *a religious spirit* in their approach to life. Many Adult Schools conduct their studies within the framework of devotional exercises: Bible readings, prayer, and hymns from the Adult School compilation—the Fellowship Hymn Book.

Adult Schools are grouped together for greater effectiveness into Sub-Unions and County Unions, while the National Adult School Union gives coherence to the whole. These *larger groupings* facilitate the organization of Summer Schools, Lecture Schools, Arts and Crafts, Music, Choral and Dramatic Festivals; they also arrange visits abroad and the reception of visitors from other lands.

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GENERAL

Adult School Education in the New Age. By Gwen Porteous. (4d.)
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The Adult School Way. By Ernest Dodgshun, B.A. (4d.)
The Officers in Adult Schools. By Jean M. Anderson. (6d.)
The Adult School Directory, 1955. (1s. 6d.)
The Adult School Register. (2s. 6d.)
Greetings Cards. 6d. per dozen.
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The Method of Adult Schools is that of GROUP THINKING, corporate search, the corrective contact of mind with mind. Every citizen has something to learn from, and contribute to, his fellows.

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In discussion and study groups, a member should be chosen as informal guide. Trained guides may sometimes be available in the locality ; these can assist in the assimilation of the information given and in keeping attention on the points at issue. The expert may be called in from time to time, as need arises.

Handbooks for Schools or Groups to work through, posters, and suggestions on procedure, may be obtained by writing to THE GENERAL SECRETARY, NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION, 35, QUEEN ANNE STREET, LONDON, W.1.

KNOWLEDGE — FRIENDSHIP — SERVICE

The Adult School Movement

The National Adult School Union comprises some 425 or more Schools, spread over the country and organized locally in County Unions and Sub-Unions or Federations. The Movement which is the Union's life has behind it more than 160 years of history as a purely voluntary institution serving the cause of religion and education in the adult field. It began in a concern to teach reading and writing to an illiterate adult population in the belief that to do this was a religious obligation. From those early days to the present moment members of the Adult School Movement have believed in an integral bond between religion and education. Reading and writing were known to be gateways into a world of significance and beauty from which no human being should be excluded. Later, the Movement proceeded to teach people how to read with understanding the book it had earlier used as its textbook. It was very early in the field in the task of making the Bible intelligible and in bringing scholarship to bear upon the fascinating and illuminating book we know the Bible to be. To promote further understanding of the Bible is still an important part of the work of the Adult School Movement. It was recognized, however, many years ago, that there are other realms of beauty, delight and knowledge which are the birthright of men and women but of which many have for various reasons been deprived. The Adult School Study Handbook, now in the 51st year of its history, has tried to open some of these additional doors. It has introduced such subjects as religion in its wider aspect, literature, the arts, geography and history, some of the sciences, and questions relating to the art of government, both local and national, and it has consistently encouraged the study of other countries and other peoples. The Study Handbook is published annually and contains studies designed to cover a year's work on the basis of a weekly meeting. In presenting the material for study an

attempt is made to meet people at varying levels of experience and attainment, and an important part of the life of a good School is the atmosphere of friendliness and understanding which makes the diffident person at home and free to express his thoughts.

The Movement has a National Council which is the final authority on matters of policy and which elects Committees to initiate new work and to promote its aim and purpose. In addition to the one which compiles the Study Handbook, the Education and Extension Committee (see below) stimulates the desire for and interest in these and other aspects of our work. It devises means of mediating education and of practising social service. It is concerned with the variety of religious and educational needs in the Schools and is therefore much occupied with problems of good leadership. It is also interested in fostering desires for practical experience in music, drama, painting and handicrafts.

Until recently, and since women are in the majority in membership of our Schools, a Women's Committee dealt specially with women's needs and interests, and a further Committee dealt similarly with the concerns of Young People. In 1958, however, both these groups of concerns, together with those of the former Education and Social Service Committee, were united into one new "Education and Extension" Committee.

An International Committee arranges each year for visits abroad of the kind that enables contact to be made with ordinary people in other countries. It encourages contacts with foreigners resident here, and it tries in various ways to promote such careful and objective study of other countries as will make for sound judgement on international affairs.

Not all Schools pursue all these aims. This note on Adult Schools embodies the desires of the large majority of their members, and in the furtherance of these aims the help of friends into whose hands this book may fall will be warmly welcomed.

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Readers of this Handbook who wish to be linked up with, or to visit, an Adult School in their own or any other area should obtain the ADULT SCHOOL DIRECTORY (1s. 9d. post free; available from National Adult School Union, 35, Queen Anne Street, London, W.1), or make contact with any of the following County Union Secretaries:

BEDS., BUCKS., CAMBS. and HERTS.	Leonard Nelson, Grove View, Burroughs Grove, Marlow, Bucks.
BERKS. and SOUTH OXON.	Albert W. Beasley, 8, Prince of Wales Avenue, Reading.
BRISTOL	Miss Dorothy M. Roberts, 64, Leighton Road, Southville, Bristol, 3.
KENT	Mrs. Mabel Hobday, 78, Cobtree Estate, Chatham Road, near Maidstone.
LANCS. and CHESHIRE	Lewis Greenwood, 18, Willows Avenue, Lytham St. Annes, Lancs.
LEICS.	Miss Dorothy Wykes, Avondale, 64, Woodgate, Rothley, nr. Leicester.
LINCS.	John A. Young, 9, Columbia Road, Grimsby.
LONDON	Miss Dorothy Pannell, 37, Cecil Road, London, W.3.
MIDLAND	Mrs. Olive Pace, M.A.S.U., Friends Meeting House, George Road, Edgbaston, Birming- ham, 15.
NORFOLK	Mrs. Kathleen Thetford, 12, Stratford Close, City Road, Norwich, Norfolk, NOR. 68 C.
NORTHANTS.	H. Richard Howard, 41, Birchall Road, Rushden, Northants.
NORTH-EASTERN	Percy W. Day, 2, Rectory Terrace, Gosforth, Newcastle-on-Tyne, 3.
NOTTS.	Frank Sawbridge, 44, Rowan Drive, Kirkby-in- Ashfield, Nottingham.
SCOTTISH	John Mitchell, 8, Craiglockhart View, Edin- burgh, 11.
SOMERSET	James W. Ducker, 54, Upper Church Road, Weston-super-Mare.
SOUTH WALES and MON.	Frederick Quick, 15, Ninian Street, Treherbert, Glam.
SURREY	Miss Nancy Ford, Sutton Adult School, Benhill Avenue, Sutton, Surrey.
WESSEX	c/o M. P. Kalsy, 72, Seafield Road, Southborne, Bournemouth.
YORKSHIRE	Will Atack, Ndomaine, West View Avenue, Red Hill, Castleford, Yorks.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION

*as revised at Meetings of the National Council held March 1926, October 1935,
March 1946, October 1949, March 1952 and October 1957*

1.—The name shall be "THE NATIONAL ADULT SCHOOL UNION".

2.—The objects of the Union shall be to advance the Adult School Movement as a whole and to form through its Council an executive body for the purpose of dealing with questions affecting the whole Movement. To this end (a) it shall federate Adult School Unions, and (b) it may federate individual Adult Schools which are in areas where for the time being there is no County Union, but only for so long as that situation obtains. The National Adult School Union is not empowered to exercise any constitutional control over the Federated Unions.

3.—The business and affairs of the Union shall be managed by a Council consisting of

(a) President, President-Elect, and Past-President of the Union.

(b) Chairman, not more than six Vice-Chairmen, Treasurer, and Honorary Secretary of the Council.

(c) Conveners of Standing Committees of the Council.

(d) Delegates from Federated Unions.

(e) One of the Adult School Trustees of the Fellowship Hymn Book.

(f)*Two representatives of the Friends' Education Council.

(g) Not more than six Foundation Members, elected by the Council from amongst those who were members of the Council during the first ten years of its existence.

(h) The Executive Committee shall have power to co-opt, as full members of the Council, not more than six persons.

The President of the Union shall be President-Elect during one year preceding and Past-President during one year succeeding his or her term of office as President.

The before-mentioned officers of the Union and of the Council shall be elected annually by the Council, after nomination either by the Council or by a Committee appointed for that purpose by the Council. The Council or its Committee shall have power to nominate persons who are not delegates of Federated Unions.

Each Federated Union shall be entitled to send to the Council: (a) its Secretary; and (b) one delegate in respect of its first 100 members (or part of 100); and (c) one additional delegate for every additional 300 members (or part of 300) up to a total of 1,000; and (d) one additional delegate for every 500 members (or part of 500) in excess of 1,000.

Each Federated Union shall be entitled, in addition to the above representation, to send to the Council one of its Young People, under 30 years of age, actively engaged in the work of the Movement.

Delegates shall be appointed for one year's service from the date of the Annual Meeting of the Council in each year, and the membership figures shall be taken as at the preceding September 30th. In the event of any delegate (other than the Union Secretary) being unable to attend a meeting of the Council, the Union represented may send a substitute.

The Chairman and Honorary Secretary may invite persons who are not members of the Council to be present at any of its meetings.

4.—Any Union or individual School seeking federation with the National Union shall do so by means of a written application, which must be accompanied by a written report by the Honorary Secretary of the National Council on presentation to the Council. It is to be understood that individual Schools directly federated to the National Union as well as Schools composing the Federated Unions shall maintain as fundamental principles: (a) the free and reverent study of the Bible; (b) unsectarian, non-partisan and democratic methods of working.

The Council may at its discretion admit on application representatives of other associations or bodies whose fundamental principles approximate to this rule.

The Council may make provision for the admission of personal members of the National Union, but such personal members shall have no right to representation on the Council.

* These two representatives are included in the Council of the Union in order to maintain the historic connection of the Society of Friends with the Adult School Movement, the Friends' First-Day School Association being now amalgamated with the said Friends' Education Council.

5.—The Council shall meet at least twice in each year. A special meeting of the Council may be convened by the Executive and Finance Committee.

6.—The Council shall appoint an Executive and Finance Committee which shall meet at least twice a year. It shall also appoint such Standing and other Committees as from time to time it may deem desirable.

7.—The Executive and Finance Committee shall consist of (a) the President, President-Elect and Past-President of the Union; (b) the Chairman, Treasurer and Honorary Secretary of the Council; (c) a Convener of each Standing Committee; and (d) ten elected by the Council from amongst its members, in such proportion of men and women as may be determined by the Council. The Executive shall have power to co-opt to its membership not more than two members of the Council.

Each Federated Union and each member of the Council may nominate members of the Council for election to the Executive and Finance Committee up to the full number of the elective part of the Committee.

8.—The Executive and Finance Committee shall appoint an Emergency Sub-Committee to deal with urgent matters.

9.—The President of the Union and the Chairman, Treasurer, and Honorary Secretary of the Council shall be *ex-officio* members of all Committees of the Council.

10.—The financial year of the Union shall end on the 31st October, or at such other date as may from time to time be fixed by the Council.

11.—The following Standing Committees, and such other Standing Committees as may from time to time be decided upon by the Council, shall be appointed:—Study Handbook; International; Education and Extension. Unless otherwise directed by the Council, the Study Handbook Committee shall consist of not more than eight members of the Council and not more than seven co-opted members. The International Committee shall consist of not more than eight members of the Council and not more than three co-opted members. The Education and Extension Committee shall consist of not more than fifteen members of the Council and not more than three co-opted members. The fifteen elected members shall comprise proper proportions of men and women and shall include at least two young people under 30 years of age. This Committee may from time to time set up Sub-Committees to deal with specific matters, and the young people of the Committee shall serve on any Sub-Committee set up to deal with young people's work.

In addition to the elected members, each Standing Committee shall include the Convener of the Committee (who may or may not be a member of the Council) and the *ex-officio* members. The Executive and each Standing Committee shall have power to fill vacancies as they occur.

12.—No alteration in these Rules shall be made by the Council until it has been reported on by a Committee appointed for that purpose, and upon such report being made the Council may adopt the alteration with or without amendment. One month's notice of any proposed alteration shall be given in writing to the Honorary Secretary by a member of the Council or by a Minute of a Federated Union.

STANDING ORDERS

1.—A draft copy of the preliminary agenda of each Council Meeting shall be sent to each member and to the Secretary of each Federated Union at least twenty-eight days before such meeting.

2.—Questions for discussion must be introduced by a member of the Council, or by a Minute from a Federated Union. Written notice of any such question should reach the Secretary thirty clear days before the meeting of the Council.

3.—It is recommended that the service on the Council of delegates (other than Union Secretaries) should be for a period of three years.

4.—The functions of the Executive and Finance Committee shall include supervision of all Finance; of the office and staff; and, unless otherwise directed by the Council, of ONE AND ALL and other publications; and of such other matters as are not specifically referred to other Committees.

5.—Each Federated Union shall be requested to furnish to the Office of the Council the names of its delegates to the National Council not later than December 31st in each year. The Council shall set up a Nomination Committee who, from the names so received, shall submit to the Council at its Annual Meeting names for election to the Standing Committees. At an early period of the Annual Meeting of the Council, members of the Council shall be entitled to submit further names from among its members. Unless otherwise determined by the Council, the vote shall be taken by ballot at a later sitting.

6.—Conveners of the Standing Committees shall be appointed by the Council, and the Education and Extension Committee shall itself appoint one of its members (of the opposite sex to that of the Convener) to collaborate with, and when necessary to deputise for, the Convener. Such member shall be known as the Deputy-Convener of the Committee. Each Standing Committee shall be helped in its work by such member or members of the Staff as may be arranged in consultation between the Convener, the Honorary Secretary and the Staff.

7.—The travelling expenses of members attending Committee meetings shall be paid on application from National Council funds. Travelling expenses incurred in attending meetings of the Council cannot be similarly paid, unless otherwise directed by the Council. It is understood that an endeavour will be made to secure hospitality for members attending Council or Committee meetings.

8.—A representative of "Fircroft" shall be invited to attend National Council meetings as a visitor.

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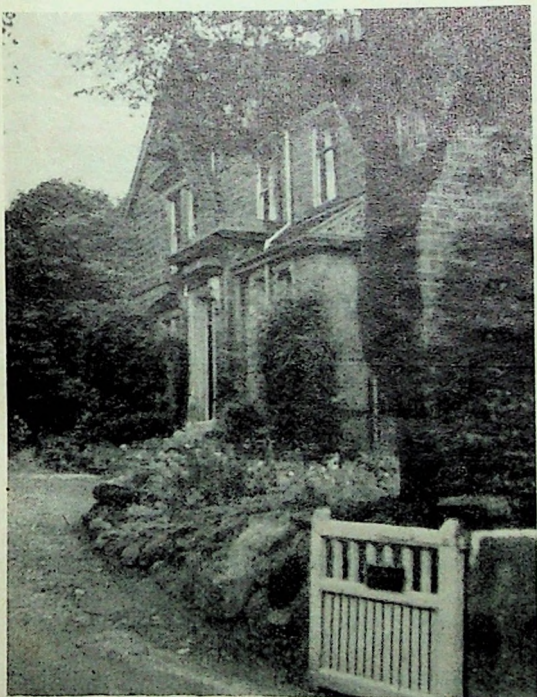
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